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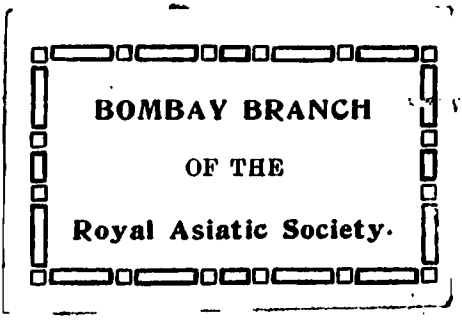

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CONSTITUTION
of the
UNITED STATES

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THE

LIFE OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

COMMANDER IN CHIEF

OF THE

American Army,

THROUGH THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR;

AND THE

FIRST PRESIDENT

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

BY AARON BANCROFT, D. D.
PASTOR OF A CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN WORCESTER

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

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PREFACE.

THE following publication originated in the author's wish to place within reach of the great body of his countrymen, an authentick biography of General WASHINGTON.

Judge Marshall, in his valuable life of this illustrious patriot, has embraced not only the settlement and general history of the North American Colonies; but also the political history of the United States. His work is therefore necessarily too expensive to be obtained by all classes of American people. The writer of these memoirs apprehended, that by publishing the life of WASHINGTON in a compressed form, he should enable those of his fellow citizens, who are not in possession of Marshall, to leave to their posterity a memorial of a man, who was pre-eminently distinguished as a Soldier and Statesman.

General WASHINGTON was from his youth devoted to his country, his character therefore cannot be portrayed, without bringing into view many important publick transactions. The plan of the writer has been to notice no individual or event, further than was necessary to display the principal character.

He has made Judge Marshall his leading authority for facts, and has in some measure followed him in the order of events. The histories of the war by Doctors Ramsay and Gordon, and several original writings have been consulted; but he trusts, that greater liberty has not been taken with any of them than is fair and honourable. The few facts, which have not before been published, were received immediately from confidential friends of General WASHINGTON, or from gentlemen who, in respectable official situations, were members of his family during his military command.

It has been the endeavour of the author to display the character of the man who is the subject of the work, by exhibiting in a connected view his actions and his writings; and he has, as far as possible, made this exhibition in the person of General WASHINGTON.

He has not conceived that he was writing for men of erudition, but for the unlettered portion of the community; and he has for their benefit more particularly studied simplicity of style. Should he be so happy as to obtain their approbation, he will receive an ample reward of his labour.

He entertains no expectation of acquiring literary fame by this publication; but he hopes to escape the disgrace of having written a useless book.

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LIFE

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER I.

His Birth—Education—Appointed an Adjutant General of the militia—His embassy to the Ohio—Commissioned as Lieutenant Colonel of a regular regiment—Surprises a detachment of French troops—Capitulation of Fort Necessity—He is appointed a volunteer Aid de camp to General Braddock—His bravery in the action in which that General fell—He is appointed the Colonel of a regiment, and commander in chief of the Virginia troops—His efforts to defend the frontiers—His exertions in the expedition under General Forbes to gain possession of Fort du Quesne—Resigns his commission.

George Washington was born in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, on the 22d day of February, 1732. He was the third son of Mr. Augustine Washington, and the great grandson of Mr. John Washington, a gentleman of a family of some distinction in the north of England, who emigrated about the year 1657, and took up the estate on which the subject of these memoirs was born.

At the age of ten years, by the death of his father, he was left in the sole care of a solicitous mother. She gave him a private education. A grammatical knowledge of the English language, mathematicks, geography, history, natural and moral philosophy, to the exclusion of the learned languages, formed the course of his youthful studies.

The candour and manliness of his disposition were early displayed among his young companions, and the commanding influence of his character was first discovered by his ascendency over them.

The patrimonial estate of Mr. Washington was small. After the completion of his course with his tutor, he was engaged in useful industry; and for several years of his minority, employed as a county surveyor. In this employment he distinguished himself by his diligence, and by the neatness and accuracy of his plans. His experience in this business made him well acquainted with the worth of new lands, and aided him afterwards in their selection.

The military bias of his mind was early discovered. The war between England and France in 1747, kindled in his young breast that spark, which at a subsequent period burst into a flame; and at his own importunity, the birth of a midshipman, at the age of fifteen, was obtained in the British navy. His views in this instance were defeated by the anxiety of an affectionate mother.

At a time when the militia was to be trained for actual service, at nineteen he was appointed one of the adjutant generals of Virginia, with the rank of major; from the execution of the duties of this commission, honourable to his age, he was soon called to higher employments.

France at this period unfolded her ambitious design of connecting Canada with Louisiana, and in this way of enclosing the British colonies in North America. Her officers were directed to establish a line of posts from the lakes to the Ohio. This tract of country, the English held to be within the boundaries of Virginia. Mr. Dinwiddie, then the Lieutenant Governor of the province, alarmed by encroachments, which involved the important interests of the British crown, conceived it proper officially to warn the French to desist from the prosecution of a scheme, deemed a violation of existing treaties between the two countries.

It was difficult to select a proper agent to execute this perilous mission. He must pass through an unexplored wilderness, filled by tribes of Indians; some

of which were doubtful friends, and many the decided enemies of the English. The fatigues and dangers which induced other Virginians to decline the commission of envoy on this occasion, led Mr. WASHINGTON with ardour to seek the appointment.

Oct. 31. 1753. The very day on which he received his commission he commenced his journey from Williamsburg. At Winchester he procured the necessary provisions, baggage, and horses. On the fourteenth of November he reached Will's Creek, the frontier of inhabited Virginia; here he hired a guide and four other attendants, to accompany him over the Alleghany mountains; the passage of which was now attended with difficulty and hazard. The weather became incessantly stormy, and the snow deep; and he was unable to arrive at Turtle Creek, on the mouth of the Monongahela, before the 22d. Here he was informed of the death of the French General, and found that his troops had retired to winter quarters. With extreme fatigue he pursued his journey; surveyed the country with the judgment of a soldier, and selected the forks of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, as a place highly expedient for the English to possess and fortify. On this site the French soon after erected Fort du Quesne, which, when the British General Forbes gained the possession, he called Fort Pitt.

In this place he spent a few days to conciliate the affections of the Indians of the vicinity. Some of their chiefs, whose fidelity he took the wisest measures to secure, he engaged as guides, with them, ascended the Alleghany river, and at the mouth of French Creek found the first French post. Proceeding up the creek to another fort, he met Monsieur le Gardeur de St. Pierre, the commanding officer on the Ohio, and to him he delivered Governor Dinwiddie's letter. Within three or four days he received an official answer to his communication, and immediately left the place on his return; but the snow being excessively deep, and

his horses growing weak from fatigue, he became impatient at the slowness of his progress. Leaving therefore his horses with necessary directions, in the care of his attendants, he and his guide wrapped themselves in watch coats, took his important papers, and the necessary provisions in their packs, and with their guns in their hands, prosecuted the journey on foot the nearest way through the woods. The next day, December 26, as he passed a place called the Murdering town, he fell in with a party of French Indians, which lay in wait for him; one of them not fifteen steps distant fired, but without effect. This Indian the Major took into custody and detained him till nine o'clock in the evening, then dismissed him, and continued his march through the night, that he might be beyond the reach of pursuit, should the Indians in the morning follow his track. The second day he reached the river two miles above the Shannapis, expecting to find it frozen over; but the ice extended only fifty yards from the shore; though quantities of it were driving in the channel. A raft was their only means of passing, and they had but one poor hatchet with which to make it. It cost them a hard day's work to form the raft; the next day they launched it, went on board, and attempted the passage; but before they were half way over they were enclosed by masses of ice, and threatened with immediate destruction. Mr. WASHINGTON put down his setting pole to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, but the rapidity of the current crowded the ice with such force against the pole, that it threw him out in ten feet water. But fortunately he saved himself by seizing one of the raft logs. With their utmost efforts they were unable to reach either shore, but with difficulty they landed on an island. The cold was so severe, that Mr. Gist the guide had his hands and feet frozen. The next morning, without hazard they passed the river on the ice, and were received into the lodgings of Mr. Frazier, an Indian trader. Here Ma-

jor WASHINGTON took a horse, and on the 16th of January, 1754, reached Williamsburg, and made report of his proceedings.

The fatigue and danger of this embassy are not easily conceived by persons in the bosom of civilized life. "From the 1st to the 15th of December," says Major WASHINGTON, "there was but one day in which it did not rain or snow incessantly, and through the whole journey there was but one continued series of cold, wet weather." The journal composed for the perusal of Governor Dinwiddie, was published, and the enterprise, judgment, and perseverance displayed in the execution of this service, exalted Mr. WASHINGTON in publick opinion; and gave his country an earnest of his future services.

The embassy to the Ohio, not having induced the French to withdraw from that country, the assembly of Virginia adopted measures to maintain the claims of the British crown. They empowered the executive of the colony to raise a regiment to consist of three hundred men. Mr. Fry, a gentleman acquainted with the western country, was appointed to command it, and the commission of Lieut. Colonel was given to Major WASHINGTON. Enterprising and patriotick, Col. WASHINGTON requested and obtained permission to march first, early in April, 1754, with two companies to the Great Meadows. The reasons which led him to this measure, were to be early in active service, to learn the designs of the enemy, to afford protection to the English settlements, to cultivate the friendship of the Indians, and to acquire a knowledge of the country, which promised to be the scene of military operations. Scarcely had he taken possession of his ground, when some friendly Indians informed him that the French had driven away a working party, sent by the Ohio company to erect a fort on the southeastern branch of the Ohio, and were themselves building a fortress on the very ground, which he had recommend-

ed to the Governor for a military post. They also gave the intelligence, that a force was then marching from that place to the Great Meadows. Although hostilities had not commenced, yet it was considered that the French had invaded the English territory; and many circumstances rendered it probable, that a force was approaching with hostile views. It appeared that the party had left the direct road, and had encamped in a valley, a few miles to the west of the Great Meadows, as a place of concealment. Colonel WASHINGTON, under the guidance of the Indians, set out in a dark, rainy night, and surrounded the encampment. At day break his men fired, and rushed upon the French, who, being completely surprised, surrendered One man only made his escape, and Mr. Jumonville, the commander, alone was killed.

The other companies of the regiment were, at this time, in march to join those in advance; before these reached the camp Colonel Fry died, and the command devolved on Lieutenant Colonel WASHINGTON. Two companies of British troops, one from South-Carolina, and the other from New-York, also joined the regiment at the Great Meadows, making a force of four hundred effective men. The regular captains reluctantly placed themselves under the command of a provincial officer; but pressing circumstances induced them for the time, to wave dispute about rank, and to act under the orders of Colonel WASHINGTON.

For the security of their stores he erected a small stockade, and then marched towards Fort du Quesne, to dislodge the French. At the foot of Laurel Hill, thirteen miles on the way, he was met by a number of friendly Indians, who informed him, that the enemy were hastily approaching with a strong detachment. A confidential chief assured him, that he had seen a reinforcement arrive at du Quesne, which place he left two days before, and had learned that a body consisting of eight hundred French and four hundred In

dians, would immediately march to attack the English. The previous information of deserters from the enemy confirmed the Indian's report. The troops had been already six days without bread, and had but a small quantity of meat in store. The French might approach by water carriage, within five miles of their present encampment; and then pass them by a different route and starve them into a surrender, or fight them with a great superiority of numbers.

JUNE 28. 1754. In this critical situation Colonel WASHINGTON called a council of war. The unanimous advice of which was, to return to their position at the Great Meadows; because the two roads at that place united, and the country did not allow an enemy to pass them unperceived; and at this place they might wait the arrival of a supply of provisions, and reinforcement of men. The Colonel approved the advice of his officers, and immediately carried it into effect. (July 2) His first care was to sink a ditch round the stockade, which he now named Fort Necessity; but before it was completed, the enemy attacked him, (July 3) under the command of Monsieur de Villier, whose force consisted of fifteen hundred men. The assault was gallantly made, and bravely repelled. Part of the garrison fought within the fort, and part in the ditch, which was almost filled with mud and water. Colonel WASHINGTON, during the whole action, remained without the fort, by his presence and example animating his men. The attack began at ten in the morning, and was continued without intermission as long as the light of day remained. Early in the evening Monsieur de Villier demanded a parley and mentioned the terms of capitulation which he was willing to grant. These were rejected; but in the course of the night, articles were agreed upon and signed. By these, the fort was to be surrendered, the garrison allowed the honours of war, to retain their fire arms and baggage, and unmolested to march to the inhabited

part of Virginia. The capitulation was the work of haste, and written in the French language, with which neither Colonel WASHINGTON nor any of his officers were acquainted, and unfortunately contained an expression, which the translator, at the time, construed to Colonel WASHINGTON to imply, that Mr. Jumonville, in the first action was *killed;* but which literally would bear the translation, was *assassinated.* In answer to a publication of Monsieur de Villier, Colonel WASHINGTON, soon after the event, made it fully appear that he did not understand the import of the word; but during his presidency, an enemy had the audacity to call him, upon the strength of this capitulation, an *assassin.**

The killed and wounded in the Virginia regiment, on this occasion amounted to fifty-eight. The enemy were stated to have had about two hundred killed and wounded.

The publick gave to this brave band, merited praise; and the assembly of Virginia expressed their sense of the resolution and judgment displayed in the above action, by a vote of thanks to Colonel WASHINGTON and his officers, and by a donation of three hundred pistoles to the soldiery.

The regiment fell back to Winchester to recruit. At this place, the companies from North-Carolina and Maryland joined the Virginia force; the whole commanded by Colonel Innes of North-Carolina.

Governor Dinwiddie, with advice of council, ordered the troops to march over the Alleghany mountains; either to drive the French from du Quesne, or to erect a fort in a favourable position. The forces were in number much inferiour to those of the enemy, and were totally unprovided with articles of clothing and provisions, essential to a winter's campaign. Orders were also given immediately to fill up the regiment;

* In an infamous publication in the Aurora, under the signature of JASPER DWIGHT.

although no money was voted for the recruiting service. Colonel WASHINGTON pointedly remonstrated against these measures; but being adopted, did all in his power to carry them into effect. The Legislature soon rose, without providing effectual means for active service, and the troops did not march.

During the succeeding winter, regulations from the war office were published in America, which provided, that general and field officers of provincial troops, when serving with general and field officers commissioned by the crown, should have no rank; and, consequently, that senior provincial officers should be commanded by their juniors belonging to the regular troops.

The military ambition of Colonel WASHINGTON had been excited by his experience, and by the applause of his country; but he possessed the spirit of a soldier, and refusing submission to these degrading regulations, he indignantly resigned his commission. At the same time he declared, that with high satisfaction he would obey the commands of his country, when her service should be consistent with his honour.

1755. Colonel WASHINGTON had at this time succeeded to the estate of his eldest brother, on the Potomack, called Mount Vernon, in compliment to the British Admiral of that name. On this estate he resolved to devote his life to agricultural and philosophick pursuits, a resolution that he did not long retain.

MARCH. 1755. In the spring, General Braddock, who commanded two British regiments, and a few corps of Provincials, was making preparation for an expedition to the Ohio. He invited Colonel WASHINGTON to join his army, as his volunteer Aid de camp. The opportunity of making a campaign with a gentleman of his professional knowledge and experience was with pleasure embraced. When the General, in April, left Alexandria, Colonel WASHINGTON entered his family, and attended him to Will's

Creek, where fort Cumberland was now erected. Here the army remained until the 12th of June, collecting horses, wagons, and provisions. Colonel WASHINGTON advised the commander in chief to use as far as possible, pack horses instead of wagons, on account of the roughness of the country. Little attention was given to his opinion at the moment, but, after the commencement of the march, the measure from necessity was partially adopted.

Soon after the army left Cumberland, Colonel WASHINGTON was attacked by a violent fever; refusing to be left behind, he was carried forward in a covered wagon. All the difficulties arising from the state of the roads, which had been foreseen by Colonel WASHINGTON, were, on the march, fully realised. General Braddock now advised with him on the most eligible measures to be adopted to secure the success of the expedition. He earnestly recommended, that the heavy artillery and baggage should be left under the charge of a subaltern officer; and, that the commander in chief, with the flower of his army, should with the utmost despatch advance to the Ohio, in the expectation of possessing themselves of Fort du Quesne, before the French garrison could be reinforced by the troops that were known to be on their way for that purpose. The general closed with this advice. Twelve hundred men were selected, a few wagons were attached to the light artillery, and necessary provisions were placed on pack horses. Of this body General Braddock himself took the command, leaving Colonel Dunbar to bring up the other division by slow marches.

General Braddock with his disencumbered troops did not move with the expedition that accorded with the enterprising spirit of his American aid. In a letter written at the moment, he says, "I found that instead of pushing on with vigour, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every mole hill, and to erect bridges over every brook." In four days

they advanced only nineteen miles. The indisposition of Colonel WASHINGTON now became so severe, that his physicians declared that his life would be the sacrifice of the continued fatigues of the march. The General therefore absolutely directed him to remain at Yohogany with a small guard, until Colonel Dunbar came up with him. Colonel WASHINGTON at length consented, on the promise that he should be brought up with the advanced corps, before its arrival at Fort du Quesne. The day preceding the fatal action, he, in a covered wagon, rejoined the troops, and, in his debilitated state, entered on his duty.

General Braddock was warned of the danger, to which the character of his enemy exposed him, and advised to employ the ranging companies of Virginia to scour the woods, and prevent ambuscades; but not looking for an enemy capable of serious opposition, he without caution moved his army in small columns. Within seven miles of du Quesne, he was suddenly attacked by an invisible foe; the assaulting party of French and Indians fighting under cover of the thick wood and high grass, with which the country abounded.

JULY 8, 1755.

Early in the action, the Aids de camp, except Colonel WASHINGTON, were killed or disabled, and he performed the whole of the dangerous service of carrying the orders of the commander to his respective officers. Of all those, who on this fatal day did duty on horseback, he alone escaped without a wound; although he had two horses shot under him, and four balls through his coat. Doctor Craik, the physician who attended him in his last sickness, was a witness of this scene: "I expected," says he, "every moment to see him fall.—His duty and situation exposed him to every danger. Nothing but the superintending care of Providence could have saved him from the fate of all around him."

After an action of three hours, the troops broke, and

the efforts of their officers to rally them were fruitless Colonel WASHINGTON assisted to bring General Braddock off the field, who was mortally wounded. He reached fort Cumberland, and there died, and was buried. During the arducus and dangerous conflicts of this hour, Colonel WASHINGTON exhibited that self possession and determined courage, which are essential to the officer. To his quick discernment and sound judgment, the preservation of the defeated troops was in a great measure attributed; and had his advice been previously adopted, probably the disaster would not have happened. As soon as relieved from his attention to his unfortunate General, he was despatched to Cumberland, to provide for the retreating army.

AUGUST, 1755. Colonel Dunbar being joined by them, destroyed the stores he could not remove, and marched his army to Philadelphia into winter quarters.

The British troops had not been accustomed to Indian warfare; and, on this occasion, Col. WASHINGTON indignantly witnessed their pusillanimity. In an official relation of the engagement, to the Executive of Virginia, he observes, "They were struck with such an inconceivable panick, that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The officers in general behaved with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffered; there being upwards of sixty killed and wounded; a large proportion of what we had.

"The Virginia companies behaved like men, and died like soldiers; for I believe of three companies on the ground that day, scarcely thirty men were left alive. Capt. Peronny and all his officers, down to a corporal, were killed. Capt. Poulson had almost as hard a fate, for only one of his escaped. In short, the dastardly behaviour of the regular troops, so called, exposed those who were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death. And at length, in spite of every

effort to the contrary, they broke and ran as sheep before hounds; leaving the artillery, ammunition, provisions, baggage, in short every thing, a prey to the enemy; and when we endeavoured to rally them, in hopes of regaining the ground, and what we had left upon it, it was with as little success, as if we had attempted to stop the wild bears of the mountains, or the rivulets with our feet; for they would break by in spite of every effort to prevent it."

The assembly of Virginia was in session, when the gloomy intelligence was received, that General Braddock was defeated and slain, and that Colonel Dunbar had left their frontiers open to the invasion of the enemy. They immediately voted to raise a regiment to consist of sixteen companies.

The important transactions in which Colonel WASHINGTON had been engaged, developed his character, and his reputation rose by every publick trust with which he was invested. He now received a commission appointing him Colonel of this regiment, and Commander in Chief of all the forces raised, and to be raised, in Virginia; with the privilege to name his field officers. He could, in the existing state of the colony, engage in the military service of his country without an impeachment of his honour, and with alacrity he accepted the appointment.

1755. A scene now opened to Colonel WASHINGTON, trying indeed to a Commander of his youth and degree of experience, but proving an excellent school, in which to form the General of the revolutionary war With an incompetent force he was to defend a frontier of three hundred and sixty miles. The French on the Ohio, aided by the numerous Indians, attached to their interests, embraced every favourable opportunity to invade the northern and western borders of Virginia, spreading terrour and desolation in their course; and having completed their work of slaughter and ruin, they retreated with their plunder over the Alleghany

mountain, before a force could be collected to attack them.—Governor Dinwiddie was not himself a soldier, nor did he possess a mind to comprehend the nature of this mode of warfare. Jealous of his prerogative, and obstinate in his temper, his orders were often inadequate to their object, or impracticable in their nature. The military code of the colony was insufficient, which rendered it impossible to bring the militia into the field with the despatch necessary to repel an Indian invasion; and her martial laws did not possess vigour to prevent insubordination in officers, or secure discipline in the permanent troops. The colony was at that time too poor, or too improvident, seasonably to lay up magazines for the use of her little army, or to keep money in the military chest for its regular payment.

Under all these embarrassments, Colonel WASHINGTON entered on the duties of his commission. Having put the recruiting service in operation, he visited the line of posts on the frontiers, and established the best regulations their state admitted, to keep the petty garrisons vigilant and alert.

He had accomplished this necessary business, and nearly completed a journey to Williamsburg, to settle with the Governor the plan of operations; and to press upon him, and other officers of government, the importance of Legislative interference to conciliate those Indians who were not already attached to the French; and to adopt effectual means and regulations to support and discipline the troops; when information reached him of an eruption of the French and Indians on the northern border. In haste he returned to Winchester, and found the country in the utmost alarm and confusion. The small garrisons conceived themselves to be in danger in their fortresses, and were unable to protect the open country. The inhabitants on the extreme frontier, instead of uniting their force for mutual safety, fell back and communicated their fears to more

interiour places. Orders to call the militia into the field were unavailing; the solicitude and exertion of each individual were directed to the immediate preservation of his family and property. The sufferings of his countrymen deeply wounded the heart of Colonel WASHINGTON. Every measure was adopted, that an enterprising spirit could suggest; and all the means he possessed were judiciously and strenuously exerted for their protection; but all were ineffectual. He was compelled to be the witness of the calamity of friends, whom he could not relieve; and of the carnage and ravages of a ferocious enemy, whom he could not chastise. Before a force from below could be collected, the invading foe, having glutted their appetite for blood, and loaded themselves with spoil, recrossed the mountain.

Three years service affords little else, than a repetition of scenes of a similar nature; scenes, which occasioned these settlements the utmost horrour and distress, and brought the fortitude and military resources of the Commander to a severe test; but which, in recital, would swell this work beyond the designed bounds. The regiment never consisted of more than one thousand effective men. Colonel WASHINGTON, in addition to the appropriate duty of his commission, was obliged to superintend the operations of each subordinate department, and to attend to the wants of the impoverished inhabitants.

During this period, he unremittingly urged upon the Executive and Legislature of his Province, the insufficiency of the mode adopted to prosecute the war. He earnestly recommended offensive operations, as the only measure which would effectually relieve the Colony from the heavy loss of inhabitants, and from the expense of money yearly sustained; and prevent the total depopulation of the fertile plains beyond the Blue Ridge. If the necessary co-operation of Great Britain, to enable the colony to drive the enemy from

the Ohio, were unattainable, which would prove a radical cure of the evil, he strongly recommended, that a regular force of two thousand men should be raised. By this measure he thought the militia, whose services were attended with incalculable expense, and were seldom productive of good, might be relieved from temporary draughts. The feelings and views of Col. WASHINGTON on these subjects, will fully appear by the following extracts from letters which he wrote at the time. In a despatch to the Lieutenant Governour, he thus paints the situation of the inhabitants and the troops. "I see their situation, I know their danger, and participate their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief than uncertain promises. In short, I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light, that, unless vigorous measures are taken by the Assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants, now in forts, must unavoidably fall, while the remainder are flying before the barbarous foe. In fine, the melancholy situation of the people, the little prospect of assistance, the gross and scandalous abuses cast upon the officers in general, which is reflecting on me in particular, for suffering misconduct of such extraordinary kind, and the distant prospect, if any, of gaining reputation in the service, cause me to lament the hour that gave me a commission, and would induce me at any other time than this of imminent danger, to resign, without one hesitating moment, a command, from which I never expect to reap either honour or benefit; but, on the contrary, have almost an absolute certainty of incurring displeasure below, while the murder of helpless families may be laid to my account here.

"The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me with such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would conduce to the people's ease.'

The inefficiency of the militia he thus portrayed.

"The inhabitants are so sensible of their danger if left to the protection of these people, (militia) that not a man will stay at his place. This I have from their own mouths, and the principal inhabitants of Augusta county. The militia are under such bad order and discipline, that they will come and go when and where they please, without regarding time, their officers, or the safety of the inhabitants. There should be, according to your honour's orders, one third of the militia of these parts on duty, at a time; instead of that, scarce one thirtieth is out. They are to be relieved every month, and they are a great part of that time marching to and from their stations; and they will not wait one day longer than the limited time, whether relieved or not, however urgent the necessity for their continuance may be."

"I met with Col. Buchanan, with about thirty men, chiefly officers, to conduct me up Jackson's river, along the range of forts. With this small company of irregulars, with whom order, regularity, circumspection, and vigilance were matters of derision and contempt, we set out, and by the protection of providence, reached Augusta court-house in seven days, without meeting the enemy; otherwise we must have been sacrificed by the indiscretion of these whooping, hallooing, gentleman soldiers.—This jaunt afforded me great opportunity of seeing the bad regulation of the militia, the disorderly proceedings of the garrisons, and the unhappy circumstances of the inhabitants.

"We are either insensible of danger until it breaks upon our heads, or else through mistaken notions of economy, evade the expense until the blow is struck, and then run into an extreme of raising the militia. These, after an age, as it were, is spent in assembling them, come up, make a noise for a time, oppress the inhabitants, and then return, leaving the frontiers unguarded as before. This is still our reliance, notwithli-

standing former experience convinces us, if reason did not, that the French and Indians are watching the opportunity when we shall be lulled into fatal security, and unprepared to resist an attack, to invade the country, and by ravaging one part, terrify another; that they retreat when our militia assemble, and repeat the stroke as soon as they are dispersed; that they send down parties in the intermediate time, to discover our motions, procure intelligence, and sometimes to divert the troops."

The expediency of an offensive war, he supported by the following observations.

"The certainty of advantage by an offensive scheme of action, renders it beyond any doubt, much preferable to our defensive measures. To prove this to you, Sir, requires, I presume, no arguments. Our scattered force, so separated and dispersed in weak parties, avails little to stop the secret incursions of the savages. We can only put them to flight, or frighten them to some other part of the country, which answers not the end proposed. Whereas, had we strength enough to invade their lands, and assault their towns, we should restrain them from coming abroad and leaving their families exposed. We then should remove the principal cause, and have stronger probability of success; we should be free from the many alarms, mischiefs, and murders that now attend us; we should inspirit the hearts of our few Indian friends, and gain more esteem with them. In short, could Pennsylvania and Maryland be induced to join us in an expedition of this nature, and to petition his Excellency Lord Loudoun for a small train of artillery, with some engineers, we should then be able, in all human probability, to subdue the terrour of Fort du Quesne, retrieve our character with the Indians, and restore peace to our unhappy frontiers."

On supposition that the assembly should persist in the scheme of defensive warfare, he presented to the

Governour a plan for his opinion. This was to establish twenty-two forts, reaching from the river Mayo to the Potomack, in a line of three hundred and sixty miles; and which were to be garrisoned by a regular force, consisting of two thousand men.

The pride of Governour Dinwiddie was offended by these frank communications of a gallant and independent officer. In uncourtly language he censured advice, which he could not comprehend, and reproached this officer with officiousness and neglect of duty Colonel WASHINGTON felt the reprimand as a patriot, the welfare of whose country ever dwelt on his heart; and, like a soldier, who had an invaluable prize in his own reputation. In the consciousness of having made the highest efforts faithfully to execute the trust reposed in him, he thus with spirit replied to the charge, in a letter to a friend. "Whence it arises, or why, I am ignorant, but my strongest representations of matters relative to the peace of the frontiers are disregarded as idle and frivolous; my propositions and measures, as partial and selfish; and all my sincerest endeavours for the service of my country, perverted to the worst purposes. My orders are dark, doubtful, and uncertain. To-day approved, to-morrow condemned; left to act and proceed at hazard; accountable for the consequences, and blamed without the benefit of defence If you can think my situation capable of exciting the smallest degree of envy, or of affording the least satisfaction, the truth is yet hid from you, and you entertain notions very different from the reality of the case. However, I am determined to bear up under all these embarrassments, some time longer, in the hope of better regulations under Lord Loudoun, to whom I look for the future fate of Virginia."

To the Governour himself, in answer to a communication from him, which conveyed a censure, he wrote, "I must beg leave, before I conclude, to observe, in justification of my own conduct, that it is with pleasure

I receive reproof when reproof is due, because no person can be readier to accuse me, than I am to acknowledge an errour when I have committed it; nor more desirous of atoning for a crime, when I am sensible of being guilty of one. But, on the other hand, it is with concern I remark, that my best endeavours lose their reward, and that my conduct, although I have uniformly studied to make it as unexceptionable as I could, does not appear to you in a favourable point of light. Otherwise your Honour would not have accused me of *loose* behaviour and *remissness* of duty, in matters, where I think I have rather exceeded than fallen short of it. This, I think, is evidently the case in speaking of Indian affairs at all, after being instructed in very express terms, '*Not to have any concern with, or management of Indian affairs.*' This has induced me to forbear mentioning the Indians in my letters to your Honour of late, and to leave the misunderstanding which you speak of, between Mr. Alkin and them, to be related by him."

He had been informed by letter of a report communicated to the Governour, impeaching his veracity and honour. A copy of this letter he enclosed to his Honour, earnestly requesting of him the name of the author of this report. "I should take it infinitely kind if your Honour would please to inform me, whether a report of this nature was ever made to you, and in that case, who was the author of it?

"It is evident, from a variety of circumstances and especially from the change in your Honour's conduct towards me, that some person as well inclined to detract, but better skilled in the art of detraction than the author of the above stupid scandal, has made free with my character. For I cannot suppose that malice so absurd, so barefaced, so diametrically opposite to truth, to common policy, and in short to every thing but villany, as the above is, could impress you with so ill an opinion of my honour and honesty.

"If it be possible that Colonel ——, for my belief is staggered, not being conscious of having given the least cause to any one, much less to that gentleman, to reflect so grossly. I say, if it be possible that —— could descend so low, as to be the propagator of this story, he must either be vastly ignorant of the state of affairs in this country at *that time*, or else he must suppose that the whole body of inhabitants had combined with me in executing the deceitful fraud. Or, why did they, almost to a man, forsake their dwellings in the greatest terrour and confusion? And while one half of them sought shelter in paltry forts of their own building, the others should flee to the adjacent counties for refuge; numbers of them even to Carolina, from whence they have never returned?

"These are facts well known; but not better known, than that these wretched people, while they lay pent up in forts, destitute of the common supports of life, (having, in their precipitate flight, forgotten, or were unable rather to secure any kind of necessaries) did despatch messengers, (thinking that I had not represented their miseries in the piteous manner they deserved) with addresses of their own to your Honour and the Assembly, praying relief. And did I ever send any alarming account, without sending also the original papers, or the copies, which gave rise to it.

"That I have foibles, and perhaps many, I shall not deny. I should esteem myself, as the world also would, vain and empty, were I to arrogate perfection.

"Knowledge in military matters, is to be acquired by practice and experience only, and if I have erred, great allowance should be made for my errours for want of them, unless those errours should appear to be wilful; and then I conceive it would be more generous to charge me with my faults, and let me stand or fall according to evidence, than to stigmatize me behind my back.

"It is uncertain in what light my services may have

appeared to your Honour; but this I know, and it is the highest consolation I am capable of feeling, that no man that ever was employed in a publick capacity, has endeavoured to discharge the trust reposed in him with greater honesty, and more zeal for the country's interest, than I have done; but if there is any person living, who can say with justice, that I have offered any intentional wrong to the publick, I will cheerfully submit to the most ignominious punishment that an injured people ought to inflict. On the other hand, it is hard to have my character arraigned, and my actions condemned, without an hearing.

"I must therefore again beg in *more plain*, and in very earnest terms to know if —— has taken the liberty of representing my conduct to your Honour, with such ungentlemanly freedom as the letter implies? Your condescension herein will be acknowledged a singular favour."

Soon after this transaction, Mr. Dinwiddie left the government, and Mr. Blair, the president of the Council, became, for a short time, the Executive, between whom and Colonel WASHINGTON perfect confidence and free communication existed.

1757. This year Lord Loudoun succeeded to the civil government of Virginia, and to the chief command of the British troops in North America. Colonel WASHINGTON obtained permission to wait upon him the succeeding winter; to whom he presented an address from his regiment, and communicated from himself a statement of the military situation of the colony. In this he pointed out the errour of the government in the management of the war, and particularly in their depending on the aid of the militia; and clearly stated the superiour advantages of offensive operations.

Colonel WASHINGTON was sanguine in the expectation, that Lord Loudoun would adopt his darling scheme of an expedition to dispossess the French of Fort du

Quesne ; but his Lordship having determined to direct his force against Ticonderoga, he was again disappointed.

At the close of the year 1757, General Abercrombie was appointed to the supreme command in America, and General Forbes commissioned as the commander of the middle district. To the high gratification of Colonel WASHINGTON, the conquest of du Quesne became a principal object.

1758. Colonel WASHINGTON, not expecting to be placed on the establishment, had determined to resign his commission ; but he thought the expedition for this purpose presented a fair prospect of distinguished service, and he resolved to engage in it.

He warmly recommended an early campaign ; for this, among other reasons, seven hundred Indians had, in April, assembled at Winchester, whose patience would be exhausted unless early employed ; and in that event, he observes, " No words can tell how much they will be missed."

He was at length ordered to collect the Virginia troops at Winchester, and to hold them in readiness for active service. At this late moment, when the duties of the field demanded his attention, he was obliged to make a journey to Williamsburg, to provide arms, clothing, and money for his regiment ; and to obtain for *his* soldiers, the same pay which the assembly. in their last session, had voted to a regiment raised for the present campaign.

Early in July the Virginia forces were moved to Cumberland, and through the month employed in opening a road from that place to Raystown Flying parties of the enemy greatly annoying them in their business, it was contemplated to send a detachment over the mountain, to restrain the French and Indians from this annoyance ; but Col. WASHINGTON objected to the measure, because the detachment would be exposed to the whole force of the enemy on the Ohio,

and must be defeated. The plan was in consequence given up; and by his advice frequent scouts, consisting principally of Indians, were substituted. The prediction of Colonel WASHINGTON, respecting the body of Indians at Winchester, was verified; before the campaign opened, their patience was exhausted, and they retired to their homes.

It was confidently expected that the army would march by Braddock's road, which needed only slight repairs; but on the last of this month, Col. Bouquet by letter, requested an interview with Colonel WASHINGTON, to consult with him on opening a new route. In reply he wrote, "I shall most cheerfully work on any road, pursue any route, or enter on any service that the General or yourself may think me usefully employed in, or qualified for; and shall never have a will of my own, when a duty is required of me. But since you desire me to speak my sentiments freely, permit me to observe, that after having conversed with all the guides, and having been informed by others acquainted with the country, I am convinced that a road to be compared with Gen. Braddock's, or, indeed, that will be fit for transportation, even by pack horses, cannot be made. I own I have no predilection for the route you have in contemplation for me."

Notwithstanding every remonstrance, he found Col. Bouquet determined to open the new road.—That nothing in his power might be omitted to prevent the adoption of a scheme, which he thought would probably defeat the expedition, he addressed a letter to this officer, with the express design that it should be laid before General Forbes, then indisposed; in which he gave the following reasons for the preference of Braddock's road.

When individuals of Pennsylvania and Virginia, he said, were about to establish a trade with the natives on the Ohio, they, under Indian guides, explored the country, and adopted the road by Will's Creek as the

best route. This road had been opened by the Ohio company in 1753, and had been repaired in 1754 by the troops under his command, as far as Gist's plantation, beyond the Great Meadows. In 1755 it had been put in good order by General Braddock, and could with little labour be fitted for use. This road, therefore, must be preferable to a new route over ground not more favourable. In respect to forage there could be no material difference. The hills on both routes were barren, and the valleys between them abounded with grass. The objection to Braddock's road, he observed, on account of high waters, was not founded; he had himself passed with a body of men, the Yohogany, the most rapid stream, and the soonest filled of any on the road, after thirty days of almost incessant rain. The Monongahela might be avoided. The defiles on Raystown road were as numerous as on Braddock's, and the saving in distance was inconsiderable. But the insuperable objection to the new route, he observed, was the time that must be expended in opening it. The distance was little short of an hundred miles, over mountains, almost impassable, and covered with woods and rocks. The most that could be expected, he said, on this route the present season, would be to gain the height of land, there erect fortifications, and wait the return of spring. This delay must be attended with ruinous consequences to the colonies, which had exerted themselves beyond their strength to drive the French from the Ohio the present campaign.

In the same letter, he communicated an order of march on Braddock's road, which would bring the army in sixty-four days before Fort du Quesne, with provisions for eighty-six days. He also wrote to Major Halket, Aid of Gen. Forbes, to engage his good offices to prevent the fatal plan. "I am just returned from a conference held with Col. Bouquet. I find him fixed—I think I may say, unalterably fixed, to lead you a new way to the Ohio, through a road, every inch of which

is to be cut at this advanced season, when we have scarcely time left to tread the beaten track, universally confessed to be the best passage through the mountain.

"If Colonel Bouquet succeeds in this point with the General, all is lost! All is lost indeed! Our enterprise is ruined, and we shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter—but not to gather laurels, except of the kind which cover the mountains.—The southern Indians will turn against us, and these colonies will be desolated by such an accession to the enemy's strength. These must be the consequences of a miscarriage, and a miscarriage the almost necessary consequence of an attempt to march the army by this route."

The judgment and advice of Colonel WASHINGTON in this important measure were overruled, and to his extreme mortification, the new route of the army was adopted. The disappointment and gloomy prospect which he entertained, are strongly expressed in the following letter, written from Cumberland, to the Speaker of the House of Burgesses.

SEPT. 2, 1758. "We are still encamped here, very sickly and dispirited at the prospect before us. That appearance of glory which we once had in view, even that hope, that laudable ambition of serving our country, and meriting its applause, are now no more; all is dwindled into ease, sloth, and fatal inactivity. In a word, all is lost, if the ways of men in power, like certain ways of providence, are not inscrutable. But we, who view the actions of great men at a distance, can only form conjectures agreeably to a limited perception; and, being ignorant of the comprehensive schemes which may be in contemplation, might mistake egregiously in judging of things from appearances, or by the lump. Yet every fool will have his notions, will prattle and talk away; and why may not I? We seem then, in my opinion, to act under the guidance of an evil genius. The conduct of our leaders, if not actuated by superiour orders, is

tempered with something—I do not care to give a name to. Nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue."

Mentioning the arguments he had brought against the new road, he proceeds, "But I spoke all unavailingly. The road was immediately begun, and since then, from one to two thousand men have constantly wrought on it. By the last accounts I have received, they had cut to the foot of Laurel Hill, about thirty-five miles, and I suppose by this time, fifteen hundred men have taken post about ten miles further, at a place called Loyal Hanna, where our next fort is to be constructed.

"We have certain intelligence, that the French strength at Fort du Quesne did not exceed eight hundred men, the 13th ultimo, including about three or four hundred Indians. See how our time has been mispent. Behold how the golden opportunity is lost, perhaps never more to be regained! How is it to be accounted for? Can General Forbes have orders for this? Impossible. Will then our injured country pass by such abuses? I hope not; rather let a full representation of the matter go to his Majesty; let him know how grossly his glory and interests, and the publick money have been prostituted."

Col. Grant, with a force of eight hundred men, having been detached to reconnoitre the country, in the neighbourhood of the Ohio, was about this time defeated with loss; and himself, and Major Lewis of Colonel WASHINGTON's regiment, were taken prisoners Three companies of this regiment were on the expedition, and behaved with great bravery. Of eight officers belonging to these companies, on this service, five were killed, one wounded, and one taken prisoner. Capt. Bullet, who had charge of the baggage, defended it with great resolution, and did much to protect the defeated troops; he fortunately came off the field without a wound. This spirited and soldierly conduct the Britons acknowledged to be highly honourable to

the troops themselves, and to the Commander, who trained them to the service. General Forbes complimented Colonel WASHINGTON on the occasion.

Colonel WASHINGTON was at this time employed on the new road, in the neighbourhood of Raystown.

Oct. 8, 1758. General Forbes resolved that the main army should move from this place; and he called upon the commanding officers of regiments to lay before him a plan for its march. Colonel WASHINGTON presented his; it has been preserved, and is said to display the soundness of his judgment

Through a road almost impassable, the army at length reached Loyal Hanna, about ten miles from the foot of Laurel Hill, and forty-five from Fort Cumberland. At this place Colonel WASHINGTON had predicted the expedition would terminate. In a Council of War it was actually resolved to be unadviseable to proceed further this Autumn. To have wintered in this inhospitable wilderness would, perhaps, have been impossible; but before any disposition of the army was made, intelligence was brought by some prisoners, that the garrison of Fort du Quesne had not been supported from Canada; that the Indians had deserted it; and, that it was not in a situation to make resistance. This intelligence induced General Forbes to change his resolution, and to push on to the Ohio. Colonel WASHINGTON was ordered to the front to superintend opening the road for the army; which duty he, with extreme fatigue, executed. In slow and laborious marches, General Forbes reached du Quesne,

Nov. 25, 1758. and found that the French, on the evening preceding his arrival, had set fire to this fort, and had passed in their boats down the river.

The success of the campaign was wholly to be attributed to the pressure of the English on Canada, which constrained the French Commander in chief to call in, or weaken his outposts; but for this circumstance, the gloomy predictions of Colonel WASHINGTON

would have been verified, in the failure of the expedition.

The Fort being repaired, was called Fort Pitt, in compliment to the preeminent British Minister, under whose auspices the war was now conducted.

Colonel WASHINGTON furnished two hundred men of his regiment to the garrison, and soon after returned to Williamsburg to take his seat in the House of Burgesses, of which, in his absence he had been chosen a member.

His services, while commander of the Virginia forces, were appreciated by his countrymen; and the British officers with whom he served, bore honourable testimony to his military talents. The soldierly and gallant behaviour of his regiment in the field, exhibited the best evidence of the address of their commander, in training them to exact discipline, and exciting in them a martial spirit. His officers expressed the great affection and respect, which they entertained for his character, by an unanimous address, presented to him at the close of this campaign; and the inhabitants of the frontiers placed full confidence in him, even at a time when he was unable to defend them from the slaughter and devastation of the enemy.

Colonel WASHINGTON now saw the great object attained, to which for years he had directed his whole mind. The enemy was driven from the Ohio, and his country, in a great measure, relieved from the carnage and distress of an Indian war. His health was impaired by the arduous services of the campaign; and his private concerns demanded his attention. He therefore resigned his military commission, and retired to the tranquil scenes of domestick life

CHAPTER II.

Colonel Washington's Marriage—His management of the Estate of Mount Vernon—Appointed a Judge of the County Court, and a Member of the Virginia Legislature—Chosen a Member of the first Congress—Appointed Commander in Chief of the American Forces—Arrives at Camp—Arranges the Army—Deficiency of Arms and Ammunition—Colonel Arnold detached to Quebeck—Success of American Cruisers—Evils of temporary enlistments—An attack on the Enemy's Posts meditated—Possession taken of the Heights of Dorchester—Boston evacuated.

1759. Soon after the resignation of his military commission, Colonel Washington married Mrs. Martha Custis, a young and beautiful widow, who possessed an ample fortune, and who was endowed with those amiable and pleasing accomplishments of mind and manners, which give the best security for happiness in the married state. With her he lived in all the confidence, endearment, and felicity which this relation can produce.

On his estate of Mount Vernon, he extensively engaged in the business of agriculture, and was greatly distinguished for the judgment he displayed in the improvement of his lands. Every branch of business was conducted upon system, exact method and economy were observed throughout every department of his household, the accounts of his overseers he weekly inspected, the divisions of his farm were numbered, the expense of cultivation, and the produce of each lot were regularly registered; and, at one view he could determine the profit or loss of any crop, and ascertain the respective advantages of particular modes of husbandry. He became one of the greatest landholders in North America. Besides other great and valuable tracts, his Mount Vernon estate consisted of nine thousand acres, all under his own management. On which, in one year, he raised seven thousand bushels of wheat,

and ten thousand of Indian corn. His domestick and farming establishments were composed of nearly a thousand persons; and the woollen and linen cloth necessary for their use, was chiefly manufactured on the estate.*

Order and industry were carried into all his concerns. The authority he exercised over his slaves was blended with great tenderness and humanity, and their affection and gratitude ensured a prompt and cheerful obedience to his commands. Mount Vernon was ever the seat of hospitality, and here its rights were liberally exercised. Colonel WASHINGTON, although exact in requiring the punctual fulfilment of contracts and engagements, yet was diffusive in offices of humanity, and deeds of charity to those of his vicinity who needed his assistance.

From the close of the war on the frontiers of Virginia, to the commencement of the revolutionary contest, Colonel WASHINGTON acted as a Judge of a County Court, and represented his district in the House of Burgesses of his Province. Although never distinguished as a popular speaker, yet the soundness of his judgment, the wisdom of his counsels, and the uniform propriety of his behaviour, secured him the confidence and esteem of all who were acquainted with his character.

While a Legislator of Virginia, he took an active part in opposition to the principle assumed by the British Parliament, to tax the American colonies. When it became expedient to train the militia for the defence of those rights, which the country determined never to sacrifice, the independent companies in the Northern part of Virginia chose him their Commander.

He was elected a member of the first Congress, which met in Philadelphia in 1774; in which body he had a distinguished agency in the arrangement of the

* See "Legacies of WASHINGTON" printed at Trenton in 1800.

military resources of the United Provinces. He was the active member of all Committees, to which business of this nature was entrusted.

JUNE 15, 1775. At the commencement of hostilities, Congress deemed it necessary to appoint a Commander in Chief of the American forces. The eminent character of Colonel WASHINGTON pointed him out as the best qualified to unite the confidence of the publick, and successfully to conduct the arduous conflicts of the war. Congress unanimously elected him "General and Commander in Chief of the United Colonies, and of all the forces now raised, and to be raised by them." When the President of Congress communicated his election, he thus addressed him.

"Mr. President, although I am truly sensible of the high honour done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

"But lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with. I beg leave, Sir, to assure the Congress, that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestick ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. These, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

Congress, when his commission was executed, unanimously and solemnly resolved, to support him

with their lives and fortunes, as the general of their army, in defence of the country. General WASHINGTON instantly prepared to enter upon the eventful duties of his command. The difficulties which he was to encounter, will clearly appear from a slight view of the state of the country, and of the condition of the army.

As a means to repel the encroachments of the British Parliament, the American merchants had generally entered into resolutions, not to import articles of merchandise from Great Britain; and at the commencement of the war, the country was, in a great degree, destitute of ammunition, and of every material necessary to clothe an army, and furnish the men with tents. There were no considerable magazines of provisions, and few tools suitable for the work of fortification The men who composed the army were raised by different States, on short enlistments, and on different establishments; and they carried into the camp, the feelings and habits formed by their respective pursuits in private life. They were animated by the love of liberty, and possessed the resolution and bravery of hardy yeomanry; but they could not easily be brought to submit to the rigid rules of military subordination and discipline. The authority of Congress and of different Colonies was blended in all the arrangements of the army. These causes occasioned numerous and complicated embarrassments to the Commander in Chief.

The appointment of General WASHINGTON was universally approved. On his journey to head quarters, he met with the most respectful attention, and received the fullest assurances of assistance and support. He was escorted by companies of volunteers; and, at Springfield, a hundred miles from Boston, a Committee of the Congress of Massachusetts met, and attended him to Cambridge.

JULY 2, 1775. On his arrival that body presented him an address, in which they expressed their entire satisfaction with his appointment, and pledged

the most effectual co-operation with his measures, in their power. His answer was well calculated to increase the attachment to his person, and the confidence in his talents, which the publick already entertained.

"Gentlemen, your kind congratulations on my appointment and arrival, demand my warmest acknowledgments, and will ever be retained in grateful remembrance. In exchanging the enjoyment of domestick life, for the duties of my present honourable, but arduous situation, I only emulate the virtue and publick spirit of the whole Province of Massachusetts, which, with a firmness and patriotism without an example, has sacrificed all the comforts of social and political life, in support of the rights of mankind, and the welfare of our common country. My highest ambition is to be the happy instrument of vindicating these rights, and to see this devoted Province again restored to peace, liberty, and safety."

The British army, at this time, commanded by General Gage, was strongly posted in three divisions; on Bunker's Hill, a mile from the ferry of Charles's River, on Cop's Hill in Boston, and on Roxbury neck. These fortified posts secured the isthmus of Boston, and that of Charlestown, the only avenues by land into those towns. Floating batteries and armed ships, stationed in the waters which surround Boston, supported the positions of the British, and kept open the communication between them.

The American army was posted at Roxbury, Cambridge, and on Winter and Prospect Hills, in front of Bunker's Hill. These positions formed a crescent of twelve miles in extent. After reconnoitring the situation of the enemy, and examining the state of his own army, the General attempted a better organization of the troops. He formed them into three divisions; the division at Roxbury formed the right wing of the army, and was commanded by General Ward; the division on Prospect and Winter Hills composed the

left wing, and was commanded by General Lee; and the troops at Cambridge formed the centre, and were commanded by General WASHINGTON in person. The forces were deemed incompetent to defend this extended camp, but the situation of the country did not favour a more compact arrangement; nor could the neighbouring country be otherwise defended from the depredations of the enemy.

These positions were secured by lines and forts; and a few companies of men were posted in the towns around Boston Bay, most exposed to annoyance by British armed vessels.

General WASHINGTON found himself embarrassed by the total want of system in every department of the army. In the execution of the duties of his commission, it became necessary to open a correspondence, not only with the Continental Congress, and with most of the Governments of the Colonies, but also with the Committees of all those towns which furnished supplies for the army. In a letter to Congress on this subject, he observes,

"I should be extremely deficient of gratitude, as well as justice, if I did not take the first opportunity to acknowledge the readiness and attention which the Congress, and the different Committees have shown, to make every thing as convenient and agreeable as possible; but there is a vital and inherent principle of delay, incompatible with military service, in transacting business through such various and different channels. I esteem it my duty, therefore, to represent the inconvenience that must unavoidably ensue from a dependence on a number of persons for supplies, and submit it to the consideration of Congress, whether the publick service will not be the best promoted by appointing a Commissary General for the purpose."

An inquiry into the state of the magazine of powder was among the first cares of General WASHINGTON, and three hundred and three barrels in store was the

return made to him. Soon after he discovered, that this return embraced the whole quantity brought into camp, without deducting what had been expended; and that there remained on hand only sufficient to furnish the army with nine cartridges a man. While the greatest caution was used to keep this alarming fact a secret, the utmost exertions were employed to obtain a supply of this article of absolute necessity in war. Application was made to all the Colonies, and measures were adopted, to import powder into the country. The immediate danger was soon removed by an arrival of a small quantity sent from Elizabethtown, in New-Jersey. Under the perplexities which arose from the defect of arms, the want of clothing and magazines, from the want of engineers, and from the confused state of the staff department, the mind of General WASHINGTON was, in some measure, cheered by a view of the men who composed his troops. "It requires," says he, in a letter to the President of Congress, "no military skill to judge of the difficulty of introducing proper discipline and subordination into an army, while we have the enemy in view, and are daily in expectation of an attack; but it is of so much importance, that every effort will be made that time and circumstances will admit. In the mean time, I have a sincere pleasure in observing that there are materials for a good army; a great number of able bodied men, active, zealous in the cause, and of unquestionable courage." The details of the departments of the Paymaster, Quartermaster, and Commissary, fell upon General WASHINGTON, and he urged Congress to fill them. Being himself authorised to make the appointments, he called to his assistance the general staff, which is necessary for the regular support and expeditious movements of an army; and assiduously prosecuted plans to organize and discipline his troops.

General Gage had, at his disposal, a force consisting of eight thousand men, and, by the aid of his

shipping, he was enabled to direct it to any point of the extended lines of the Americans, whose army did not amount to more than fourteen thousand and five hundred men. General WASHINGTON was fully apprized of his danger, and early summoned the General officers to deliberate upon the expediency of attempting to support their present position, or of taking one in their rear more compact. The council with unanimity advised to remain in their present lines. The reasons in support of this opinion were, the immediate effect which a retrograde movement would have to animate the British, and to depress the American troops; the unfavourable impression that would be made upon the publick mind; the devastation of the fertile country, that must be opened to the enemy, and the difficulty of finding a strong position in the rear. As a precautionary measure, it was determined that they would not take possession of the heights of Dorchester, nor oppose the attempt of General Gage to gain them. In case of an attack and defeat, the heights in Cambridge,* and the rear of the lines in Roxbury, were appointed as places of rendezvous. The enemy was watched with vigilant attention; and any movements which threatened a distant invasion, were communicated to Congress, and to the Executives of the Provinces particularly exposed.

The enemy had been taught respect for the American army by the battle of Bunker's Hill, and their plans, from that period through the year, were directed to self defence. With little interruption, both armies were employed in strengthening their respective lines and posts. The few skirmishes which took place between small parties neither in their nature nor their consequences merit notice.

The mere defence of lines did not satisfy the enterprizing and patriotick mind of General WASHINGTON.

* Judge Marshall denominates these heights, "Welch Mountains." This name is not known in their vicinity.

With extreme anxiety he noticed the expense of the campaign, without possessing the means of diminishing it

He knew that his country was destitute of revenue, and apprehended that her resources must soon be exhausted. In a few months the army of course would be disbanded, and the enlistment of another he conceived to be extremely difficult, if practicable; powerful reinforcements to the enemy were, in the Spring, to be expected from England; and he thought it doubtful, whether proportionate strength could be collected in the Colonies to meet them in the field. He conceived it, therefore, of vast importance to the American cause to subdue the army in Boston, before it could be reinforced. An event of this magnitude would unite and animate the Colonies, and convince Great Britain, that America was determined in her opposition to the measures of Parliament. Under these impressions he often reconnoitred the enemy, and collected information of their numbers and strength from every possible source. The attempt to dislodge the British he well knew would be attended with extreme hazard, but it was his opinion, that the probability of ultimate success, and the great advantages accruing from it, warranted the effort. In a letter to the General Officers, he stated the questions, to which he desired them to direct their close attention; and after sufficient time had been given for deliberation, he called them into council to determine, whether an attack on Boston should be made. The result was an unanimous opinion, "that for the present, at least, the attempt ought not to be made." To continue the blockade, and to strengthen their lines, was all that remained in their power.

Although the Commander in Chief acquiesced in the decision of the Council, yet it was evident, from his letter to Congress, that he himself felt inclined to risk the attack. Probably this inclination was in

creased by the wishes of Congress, previously communicated to him.

The scarcity of fresh provisions in Boston induced the enemy to send small parties to collect the stock along the shores of the continent, within protecting distance of their armed vessels. This imposed a heavy burden upon the towns on the seaboard, in the defence of their property; and the Governours of several of the Colonies were frequent and importunate in their request to General WASHINGTON to detach forces from his army for their protection. He was embarrassed by repeated requisitions of this nature. To make the required detachments, would expose the main army to inevitable destruction; and to deny the requests, would occasion dissatisfactions, which endangered a cause that could be supported only by publick opinion. To relieve him from this embarrassment, Congress passed a resolution, "That the army before Boston was designed only to oppose the enemy in that place, and ought not to be weakened by detachments for the security of other parts of the country."

General WASHINGTON early gave an example of the humane manner in which he determined to conduct the war. By the representations of individuals from Nova Scotia, Congress was led to suppose that a small force from the American army, aided by those inhabitants of that Province who were in the American interest, might surprise a British garrison at Fort Cumberland, at the head of the Bay of Fundy, and possess themselves of valuable military stores, if not retain the country; the measure was, therefore, recommended by that body to their General. On examination he found that the stores were of no magnitude, and that the expedition would expose the friends of America in that Province to inevitable ruin, from the prosecutions of their own Government, and he discountenanced the scheme. The attempt was, however, eventually made by a few indiscreet individuals, but it failed, and in

volved the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, who engaged in it, in the predicted ruin.

Some of the American cruisers, acting without publick orders, brought three of the principal inhabitants of the Island of St. John into General WASHINGTON's camp; he treated them with the greatest tenderness, and permitted them immediately to return to their distressed families.

In the course of the Autumn, gradual approaches were made towards the British posts. The army being strengthened by the arrival of Morgan's Riflemen from Virginia, and a number of regiments from Connecticut and Rhode-Island, General WASHINGTON detached Colonel Arnold, with a thousand men, by the rivers Kennebeck and St. Francis, to co-operate with General Montgomery in Canada; and, if possible, to surprise Quebeck, the capital of that Province. Arnold, and about six hundred of his men, actuated by unconquerable resolution, with inconceivable fatigue reached Quebeck. The situation of the garrison corresponded with the presumptions on which the expedition was founded; but a number of circumstances, not open to human foresight, nor controllable by human prudence, rendered it unsuccessful.

SEPT. 1775.

Through the season, the highest endeavours of the Commander in Chief were exerted to procure arms and ammunition for his troops, and partial success attended the measures adopted in every part of the union to accomplish this important purpose. A successful voyage was also made to Africa, and every pound of gunpowder for sale in the British factories on that coast was obtained in exchange for New-England rum. Capt. Manly, in the privateer Lee, captured a British ordnance ship, laden with military stores, so completely adapted to the wants of the American army, that had Congress made out an invoice, a better assortment could not have been pro-

cured. Considerations respecting the re-enlistment of the army lay with immense weight on the mind of General WASHINGTON, and he repeatedly invited the attention of Congress to this subject. In September, Congress appointed a Committee of their own body to repair to Head Quarters, to consult with the Commander in Chief, and the Executives of the New-England Provinces, "on the most effectual method of continuing, supporting, and regulating a Continental army." The result of their deliberation was, that the new army should consist of twenty thousand three hundred and seventy-two men; but unhappily, the men were to be enlisted only for one year. The evils resulting from short enlistments were severely felt at the close of the next campaign, even to the utmost hazard of the independence of the country.

Various causes operated to lead Congress to the almost fatal plan of temporary military establishments. Among the most important of these, was a prospect of accommodation with the parent state. Want of experience in the management of war upon an extensive scale was another. The revolutionary conflict placed the people of America in a situation in which all the energies of the human mind are brought into action, and man makes his noblest efforts; the occasion called upon the publick theatre statesmen and warriours, who, by the wise and honourable execution of the complicated duties of their new characters, surprised the world; still from them errours of inexperience were to be expected. The fear of accumulating expense, which the resources of the country could not discharge, had a leading influence to deter the American Government from the adoption of permanent military establishments; although the recommendations of Congress, and the regulations of State Conventions had, in the day of enthusiasm, the force of law, yet the ruling power thought it inexpedient to attempt to raise large sums by direct taxes, at a time when the commerce of

the country was annihilated, and the cultivators of the ground were subjected to heavy services in the field of war. The only recourse was to a paper medium, without funds for its redemption, or for the support of its credit, and therefore of necessity subject to depreciation, and, in its nature, capable of only a temporary currency; Congress, therefore, was justly afraid of the expense of a permanent army. Jealousy toward a standing army had a powerful influence upon the military arrangements of America; this jealous spirit early insinuated itself into the Legislative bodies of the Colonies, and was displayed in many of their measures. It appears in the address presented by the Provincial Assembly of New-York to General WASHINGTON, while on his journey to the American camp. "We have the fullest assurance, say they, that whenever this important contest shall be decided, by that fondest wish of each American soul, an accommodation with our Mother Country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposite committed into your hands, and reassume the character of our worthiest citizen." Congress, as a body, unquestionably felt this jealousy, and was afraid to trust a standing army with the power necessary to conduct the war, lest, at its successful termination, this army should become the master of the country for whose liberties it had fought. The plan of temporary enlistments was adopted by Congress, in the confident persuasion, that draughts on every occasion might be made from the militia, to oppose any force Britain could bring into the field; and that the native patriotism and bravery of the Americans would prove superiour to the mechanical movements of disciplined troops.

There being no magazines of arms in the country, the soldiers of the first campaign were of necessity permitted to bring their own muskets into service, although their different length and size occasioned

much inconvenience. By the regulation of Congress for the new enlistment, the soldiers, who chose not to serve another campaign, were not permitted to carry home their arms; but they were to receive payment for them by appraisement. Every soldier who enlisted was to find a gun, or pay a dollar to the Government for the use of one during the campaign. Every soldier, who found himself a blanket was to receive two dollars. As it was impracticable to clothe the army in uniforms, clothes of different colours were provided, the price of which was to be deducted from the wages of the men.

As soon as the plan of the new army was settled, General WASHINGTON adopted measures to carry it into execution. In general orders he directed, that all officers, who intended to decline the service of their country at the expiration of their present engagements, should in writing make known their intention to their respective Colonels; which was to be communicated to the General Officers commanding Brigades. "Those brave men, and true patriots, who resolved to continue to serve and defend their brethren, privileges, and property," were called upon in the same manner to make known their intentions, and to consider themselves as engaged to the last of December, 1776, unless sooner discharged by Congress.

The period of patriotick enthusiasm had, in some measure, passed away; numbers of officers consented conditionally to remain in the army, and many made no communication on the subject. Immediate decision was necessary; and, in new orders, the Commander in Chief solemnly called upon them

OCT. 30. for a direct and unconditional answer to his inquiry. "The times," he observed, "and the importance of the great cause we are engaged in, allow no room for hesitation and delay. When life, liberty, and property are at stake; when our country is in danger of being a melancholy scene of bloodshed

and desolation; when our towns are laid in ashes; innocent women and children driven from their peaceful habitations, exposed to the rigours of an inclement season, to depend, perhaps, on the hand of charity for support; when calamities like these are staring us in the face, and a brutal enemy are threatening us, and every thing we hold dear, with destruction from foreign troops; it little becomes the character of a soldier to shrink from danger, and condition for new terms. It is the General's intention to indulge both officers and soldiers, who compose the new army, with furloughs for a reasonable time; but this must be done in such a manner as not to injure the service, or weaken the army too much at once."

The troops were assured that clothes, on reasonable terms, were provided "for those brave soldiers, who intended to continue in the army another year." With great difficulty the arrangement of officers was completed, and recruiting orders were immediately issued. Recruiting officers were directed to "be careful not to enlist any person suspected of being unfriendly to the liberties of America, or any abandoned vagabond, to whom all causes and countries are equal, and alike indifferent. The rights of mankind and the freedom of America would have numbers sufficient to support them, without resorting to such wretched assistance. Let those, who wish to put shackles upon freemen, fill their ranks with, and place their confidence in, such miscreants." To aid the cause, popular songs were composed and circulated through the camp, calculated to inspire the soldiery with the love of country, and to induce them to engage anew in the publick service. But unfortunately, the army at this time was badly supplied with clothing, provisions, and fuel, and the consequent sufferings of the soldiers, operating upon their strong desire to visit their homes, prevented their enlistment in the expected numbers. On the last day of

Nov. 12.

December, when the first term of service expired, only nine thousand six hundred and fifty men had enlisted for the new army, and many of these were of necessity permitted to be absent on furlough. It was found impossible to retain the old troops a single day after their times expired. General WASHINGTON called upon the Governments of the neighbouring Provinces for detachments of militia to man his lines, and he was highly gratified by the prompt compliance with his demand In a letter to Congress he writes, "The militia that are come in, both from this Province and New-Hampshire, are very fine looking men, and go through their duty with great alacrity. The despatch made, both by the people in marching, and by the Legislative powers in complying with my requisition, has given me infinite satisfaction."

In the space of time, between that of disbanding the old army, and of an effective force from the new recruits, the lines were often in a defenceless state; the enemy must have known the fact; and no adequate reason can be assigned, why an attack was not made.

JAN. 4, 1776. "It is not," says General WASHINGTON, in his communications to Congress, "in the pages of history to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post, within musket shot of the enemy, for six months together, without *ammunition*, and, at the same time, to disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted. But if we succeed as well in the last, as we have heretofore in the first, I shall think it the most fortunate event of my whole life."

To defend the American lines with an incompetent number of troops, with defective arms, and without an adequate supply of ammunition; to disband one army and recruit another in the face of eight thousand British soldiers, will be viewed as a hazardous measure, and will be supposed, with the organization and disci-

pline of the men, to have employed every active power of the General; yet this did not satisfy his mind. He knew, that Congress, with anxious solicitude contemplated more decisive measures, and that the country looked for events of greater magnitude. The publick was ignorant of his actual situation, and conceived his means for offensive operations to be much greater, than in reality they were; and from him expected the capture or expulsion of the British army in Boston. He felt the importance of securing the confidence of his countrymen by some brilliant action, and was fully sensible that his own reputation was liable to suffer, if he confined himself solely to measures of defence. To publish to his anxious country, in his vindication, the state of his army, would be to acquaint the enemy with his weakness, and to involve his destruction.

The firmness and patriotism of General WASHINGTON, were displayed in making the good of his country an object of higher consideration, than the applause of those, who were incapable of forming a correct opinion of the propriety of his measures. On this, and on many other occasions during the war, he withstood the voice of the populace, rejected the entreaties of the sanguine, and refused to adopt the plans of the rash, that he might ultimately secure the great object of contention.

While he resolutely rejected every measure, that in his calm and deliberate judgment, he did not approve, he daily pondered upon the practicability of a successful attack upon Boston. As a preparatory step, he took possession of Plowed Hill, Cobble Hill, and Lechmere's Point, and upon them erected fortifications. These posts brought him within half a mile of the enemy's works on Bunker's Hill; and, by his artillery, he drove the British floating batteries from their stations in Charles's River. He erected floating batteries, to watch the movements of his enemy, and to aid in any offensive operations, that circumstances might

warrant. He took the opinion of his General Officers a second time respecting the meditated attack; they again unanimously gave their opinion in opposition to the measure, and this opinion was immediately communicated to Congress. Congress appeared still to favour the attempt, and, that an apprehension of danger to the town of Boston, might not have an undue influence upon the operations of the army, resolved,

DEC. 1775. "That if General WASHINGTON and his Council of war should be of opinion, that a successful attack might be made on the troops in Boston, he should make it in any manner he might think expedient, notwithstanding the town, and property therein, might thereby be destroyed."

General Howe had, in October, succeeded General Gage in the command of the British army, and through the winter confined himself to measures of defence.

The inability of the American General to accomplish the great object of the campaign, repeatedly pointed out by Congress, was a source of extreme mortification; but he indulged the hope of success in some military operations during the winter, that would correspond with the high expectations of his country, and procure him honour in his exalted station of Commander in Chief of the American armies. In his reply to the President of Congress, on the re-

JAN. 6, 1776. ception of the resolution, authorizing an attack on the fortified posts in Boston, he observed, "The resolution relative to the troops in Boston, I beg the favour of you, Sir, to assure Congress, shall be attempted to be put in execution the first moment I see a probability of success, and in such a way as a Council of officers shall think most likely to produce it; but if this should not happen as soon as you may expect, or my wishes prompt to, I request that Congress will be pleased to revert to my situation, and do me the justice to believe that circumstances, and not want of inclination, are the cause of delay."

Early in January, he accordingly summoned a Council of war, at which Mr. John Adams, then a Member of Congress, and Mr. James Warren, President of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, were present; in which it was resolved, "That a vigorous attempt ought to be made on the ministerial troops in Boston, before they can be reinforced in the Spring, if the means can be provided, and a favourable opportunity shall offer." It was also advised, "That thirteen regiments of militia should be asked for, from Massachusetts and the neighbouring Colonies, in order to put them in a condition to make the attempt. The militia to assemble the first of February, and to continue, if necessary, until the first of March." The reinforcements thus obtained, amounted to between four and five thousand men; but thus far the winter proved unusually mild, and the waters about Boston were not frozen. The General, in his official communication to the National Legislature, says, "Congress in my last, would discover my motives for strengthening these lines with the militia but whether, as the weather turns out exceeding mild, insomuch as to promise nothing favourable from ice, and there is no appearance of powder, I shall be able to attempt any thing decisive, time only can determine. No person on earth wishes more earnestly to destroy the nest in Boston than I do; no person would be willing to go greater lengths than I shall to accomplish it, if it shall be thought adviseable; but if we have neither powder to bombard with, nor ice to pass on, we shall be in no better situation than we have been in all the year: we shall be worse, because their works are stronger."

While anxiously waiting to embrace any favourable opportunity that might present to annoy the enemy, General Washington seriously meditated upon the importance of establishing a permanent army. His experience enabled him to anticipate the evils that must ensue at the expiration of the period for which

the present troops were engaged, and he bent the whole force of his mind to induce Congress seasonably to adopt measures to prevent them. In a letter to the President of Congress, dated February 9, he entered thus fully into the subject.

"The disadvantages attending the limited enlistment of troops, are too apparent to those who are eye witnesses of them, to render any animadversions necessary; but to gentlemen at a distance, whose attention is engrossed by a thousand important objects, the case may be otherwise.

"That this cause precipitated the fate of the brave, and much to be lamented General Montgomery, and brought on the defeat which followed thereupon, I have not the most distant doubt: for, had he not been apprehensive of the troops leaving him at so important a crisis, but continued the blockade of Quebeck, a capitulation, (from the best accounts I have been able to collect) must inevitably have followed. And, that we were not at one time obliged to dispute these lines, under disadvantageous circumstances, (proceeding from the same cause, to wit, the troops disbanding themselves before the militia could be got in) is to me a matter of wonder and astonishment; and proves that General Howe was either unacquainted with our situation, or restrained by his instructions from putting any thing to a hazard till his reinforcements should arrive.

"The instance of General Montgomery, (I mention it because it is a striking one; for a number of others might be adduced) proves, that instead of having men to take advantage of circumstances, you are in a manner compelled, right or wrong, to make circumstances yield to a secondary consideration. Since the first of December, I have been devising every means in my power to secure these encampments; and though I am sensible that we never have, since that period, been able to act upon the offensive, and at times not in a

condition to defend, yet the cost of marching home one set of men, bringing in another, the havock and waste occasioned by the first, the repairs necessary for the second, with a thousand incidental charges and inconveniences which have arisen, and which it is scarce possible to recollect or describe, amount to near as much as the keeping up a respectable body of troops the whole time, ready for any emergency, would have done. To this may be added, that you never can have a well disciplined army.

"To bring men well acquainted with the duties of a soldier, requires time. To bring them under proper discipline and subordination, not only requires time, but is a work of great difficulty; and in this army, where there is so little distinction between the officers and soldiers, requires an uncommon degree of attention. To expect then, the same service from raw and undisciplined recruits, as from veteran soldiers, is to expect what never did, and perhaps never will happen. Men who are familiarized to danger, meet it without shrinking; whereas, those who have never seen service, often apprehend danger where no danger is. Three things prompt men to a regular discharge of their duty in time of action—natural bravery, hope of reward, and fear of punishment. The two first are common to the untutored and the disciplined soldier; but the latter most obviously distinguishes the one from the other. A coward, when taught to believe, that if he break his ranks and abandon his colours, he will be punished with death by his own party, will take his chance against the enemy; but a man who thinks little of the one, and is fearful of the other, acts from present feelings, regardless of consequences.

"Again, men of a day's standing will not look forward; and, from experience we find, that as the time approaches for their discharge, they grow careless of their arms, ammunition, camp utensils, &c. Nay, even the barracks themselves, lay us under additional

expense in providing for every fresh set, when we find it next to impossible to procure such articles as are absolutely necessary in the first instance. To this may be added, the seasoning which new recruits must have to a camp, and the loss consequent thereupon. But this is not all: men, engaged for a short, limited time only, have the officers too much in their power: for to obtain a degree of popularity, in order to induce a second enlistment, a kind of familiarity takes place, which brings on a relaxation of discipline, unlicensed furloughs, and other indulgences, incompatible with order and good government; by which means, the latter part of the time for which the soldier was engaged, is spent in undoing, what you were aiming to inculcate in the first.

"To go into an enumeration of all the evils we have experienced in this late great change of the army, and the expenses incidental to it—to say nothing of the hazard we have run, and must run, between the discharging of one army and the enlistment of another, unless an enormous expense of militia be incurred—would greatly exceed the bounds of a letter. What I have already taken the liberty of saying, will serve to convey a general idea of the matter; and therefore I shall, with all due deference, take the liberty to give it as my opinion, that if the Congress have any reason to believe that there will be occasion for troops another year, and consequently of another enlistment, they would save money, and have infinitely better troops, if they were, even at a bounty of twenty, thirty, or more dollars, to engage the men already enlisted, till January next; and such others as may be wanted to complete the establishment, for, and during the war. I will not undertake to say, that the men can be had upon these terms; but I am satisfied that it will never do to let the matter alone, as it was last year, till the time of service was near expiring. The hazard is too great in the first place; in the next, the trouble and

perplexity of disbanding one army, and raising another at the same instant, and in such a critical situation as the last was, is scarcely in the power of words to describe, and such as no man, who has experienced it once, will ever undergo again."

Unhappily, the reasons which first induced Congress to adopt the plan of short enlistments, still had influence on that body, and on many of the general officers of the army; nor were they convinced of their errour, but by the most distressing experience.

The ice now became sufficiently strong
Feb. 14. for General Washington to march his forces upon it, into Boston; and he was himself inclined to risk a general assault upon the British posts, although he had not powder to make any extensive use of his artillery; but his general officers in Council voted against the attempt, with whose decision he reluctantly acquiesced. In his communication of their opinion to Congress, he observed, "Perhaps the irksomeness of my situation may have given different ideas to me, from those which influence the judgment of the gentlemen whom I consulted, and might have inclined me to put more to hazard than was consistent with prudence. If it had this effect, I am not sensible of it, as I endeavoured to give the subject all the consideration a matter of such importance required. True it is, and I cannot help acknowledging, that I have many disagreeable sensations on account of *my* situation; for, to have the *eyes* of the whole continent fixed on me, with anxious expectation of hearing of some great event, and to be restrained in every military operation, for the want of the necessary means to carry it on, is not very pleasing; especially, as the means used to conceal my weakness from the enemy, conceal it also from my friends, and add to their wonder."

By the last of February, the stock of powder was considerably increased, and the regular army amount-

ed to 14,000 men, which was reinforced by 6,000 of the militia of Massachusetts. General WASHINGTON now resolved to take possession of the Heights of Dorchester, in the prospect that this movement would bring on a general engagement with the enemy, under favourable circumstances; or, should this expectation fail, from this position he would be enabled to annoy the ships in the harbour, and the troops in the town. Possessing these heights, he might erect works upon the points of land nearest to the southerly part of Boston, which would command the harbour and a great part of the town, as well as the beach from which an embarcation must be made, in case the enemy was disposed to evacuate the place.

To mask the design, a severe cannonade and bombardment were opened on the British works and lines, for several nights in succession. As soon as the firing began on the night of the 4th of March, a strong detachment marched from Roxbury, over the neck, and, without discovery, took possession of the heights. General Ward, who commanded the division of the army in Roxbury, had, fortunately, provided fascines before the resolution passed to fortify the place; these were of great use, as the ground was deeply frozen; and, in the course of the night, the party by uncommon exertions erected works which defended them against the shot of the enemy. On the next morning, the British manifested surprise and consternation at sight of the American fortifications. Mutual firings took place, but with little effect; and the Americans laboured indefatigably to complete their works.

On the contingence of an attack upon Dorchester Heights, by a strong force, it had been resolved, that four thousand of the American troops, in boats, should cross Charles river, protected by three floating batteries, and attempt to carry the British posts in Boston, and open the communication by the neck to the American forces in Roxbury

Admiral Shuldham informed General Howe, that the Americans must be dislodged, or he could not remain with his fleet in Boston harbour. In pursuance of this intimation, on the afternoon of the 5th, a detachment consisting of three thousand men fell down to Castle Island, now Fort Independence, a position which would facilitate the attack on the next morning but a violent storm, during the night, deranged the plan, and before the British were again in readiness to make the attempt, the American works became too formidable to be assaulted.

General WASHINGTON, on this occasion, indulged a confident expectation of the success of his plans; and wished the meditated attack upon Dorchester to be made, in the sanguine hope, that the complete conquest of the British troops in Boston would be its ultimate effect; but the storm frustrated his prospects.

The safety of the British fleet and army, rendered the evacuation of Boston a necessary measure; and the arrangements of the enemy for this purpose, were soon communicated to General WASHINGTON. A paper, under the signature of four of the Selectmen, was sent out by a flag, containing a proposal, purporting to be made by General Howe, that on condition his army was permitted to embark without molestation, the town should be left without injury. The letter was directed to the Commander in Chief, but it did not bear the signature of General Howe, nor bind him to the observance of the condition. General WASHINGTON did not, therefore, officially notice it; but he directed the American officer, to whom it was delivered, to return an answer to the Selectmen, informing them that their letter had been communicated to his General, and assigning the reasons why it had not been officially noticed; but both the commanders appear to have tacitly complied with the conditions. The British army was not annoyed in the preparations to leave their post, nor was Nook's point fortified. On the 17th,

the town was evacuated, and left in a better state than was expected; the houses were not damaged in any great degree; but the British left few publick stores of value.

Although Halifax was mentioned, as the destined place of the British armament, yet General WASHINGTON apprehended that New-York was their object On this supposition, he detached several brigades of his army to that city, before the evacuation of Boston

General Howe remained a number of days in Nantasket Road, and the Commander in Chief, when he entered Boston, as a measure of security, fortified Fort Hill.

The issue of the campaign was highly gratifying to all classes; and the gratulation of his fellow-citizens upon the repossession of the metropolis of Massachusetts, was more pleasing to the Commander in Chief than would have been the honours of a triumph. Congress, to express the publick approbation of the military achievements of their General, resolved, "That the thanks of Congress, in their own name, and in the name of the thirteen United Colonies, be presented to his Excellency General WASHINGTON, and the officers and soldiers under his command, for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston, and that a medal of gold be struck, in commemoration of this great event, and presented to his Excellency."

In his letter, informing Congress that he had executed their order, and communicated to the army the vote of thanks, he observes, "They were indeed, at first, a band of undisciplined husbandmen, but it is, under God, to their bravery and attention to their duty, that I am indebted for that success which has procured me the only reward I wish to receive, the affection and esteem of my countrymen."

CHAPTER III.

General Washington marches the army to New-York—Fortifications of the City and River—Independence declared—General Howe lands on Staten Island—Interview between General Washington and Colonel Patterson—State of the British and American Forces—Camp at Brooklyn—Battle on Long Island—Retreat from it—The City and Island of New-York evacuated—Manœuvres at White Plains—Fort Washington taken—General Howe invades New-Jersey—Depression of the Americans—General Washington invested with new Powers—Success at Trenton, and at Princeton—New-Jersey recovered.

1776. As soon as the necessary arrangements were made in Boston, in the persuasion that the Hudson would be the scene of the next campaign, General WASHINGTON marched the main body of his army to New-York, where he arrived himself the 14th of April.

The situation of New-York was highly favourable for an invading army, supported by a superiour naval force. The Sound, the North and East rivers, opened a direct access to any point on Long Island, York Island, or on the continent bordering upon those waters. To the effectual defence of the city, the passage up the rivers must be obstructed by forts and other impediments; and an army was necessary, of force sufficient to man the posts and lines of defence, and to meet the invading foe in the field. Aware of these facts, General WASHINGTON doubted the practicability of a successful defence of New-York. But the importance of the place, and the difficulty which he had already experienced in dislodging an army from a fortified town, open to the protection and supplies of a fleet, inclined him to make the attempt. His own disposition to the measure was strengthened by the wishes of Congress, the opinion of his general officers, and by the expectation of his country. The resolution being formed, he called into action, all the resources in his power, to effect it. His first care was to put an end to the intercourse, which

to this time had been continued, between the town and the British ships in the harbour, by which they were supplied with every necessary; and Tryon, the British Governour, enjoyed the most favourable opportunity to concert his plans with the numerous disaffected inhabitants of the city and its vicinity; and by the aid of the Committee of Safety, this dangerous communication was effectually stopped. The General, with unremitted diligence, pushed on his works of defence. Hulks were sunk in the North and East rivers; forts were erected on the most commanding situations on their banks; and works were raised to defend the narrow passage between Long and York Islands.

The passes in the High Lands, bordering on the Hudson, became an object of early and solicitous attention. The command of this river was equally important to the American and the British General. By its possession, the Americans easily conveyed supplies of provision and ammunition to the northern army, and secured an intercourse between the southern and northern colonies, an intercourse essential to the success of the war. In the hands of the British, this necessary communication was interrupted, and an intercourse between the Atlantic and Canada was opened to them. General WASHINGTON ordered these passes to be fortified, and made their security an object of primary importance, through every period of his command.

In these defensive preparations, the American army incessantly laboured until Lord and General Howe arrived at Sandy Hook with the British fleet and army. In the near prospect of active warfare, the mind of the Commander in Chief was agitated by innumerable embarrassments. He found himself destitute of the means to give his country the protection it expected from him; the Colonies had not filled up their respective regiments; his force had been weakened by large detachments sent to reinforce the army in Canada; he

was greatly deficient in arms, tents, clothing, and all military stores; and notwithstanding his urgent entreaties on this subject, such was the destitute state of America, that Congress with all their exertions were unable to supply him. Two thousand men in camp, were at this time without arms; and no confidence could be placed in many of the muskets, which were in the hands of the soldiery. In this weak and deficient condition, General WASHINGTON was to oppose a powerful and well appointed army, and to guard against the intrigues of those in New-York and its neighbourhood, who were disaffected to the American cause: these were numerous, powerful, and enterprising. A plan was laid by Governour Tryon, through the agency of the Mayor of the city, to aid the enemy in landing, and to seize the person of General WASHINGTON. The defection reached the American army, and even some of the General's guard engaged in the conspiracy; but it was seasonably discovered, and a number of those concerned in it were executed.

The permanent troops being found incompetent to defend the country, it became necessary to call detachments of militia into the field; and Congress, placing implicit confidence in the judgment and patriotism of their General, invested him with discretionary powers, to call on the governments of the neighbouring Colonies, for such numbers as circumstances should require; and they empowered him to form those magazines of military stores, which he might deem to be necessary. In pursuance of the measure recommended by Congress, a requisition was made for thirteen thousand and eight hundred of the militia from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey.

While these defensive preparations were going forward in the camp, Congress was ripening measures to declare the Colonies independent of Great Britain. The free exercise of their constitutional rights was the extent of the American claim at the commence

ment of the controversy, and a reconciliation with the parent state, by a redress of grievances, was the ardent desire of the great body of the American people; but the operations of war produced other feelings and views: A general alienation of affection from the British government took place, and it was thought that the mutual confidence of the two countries could never be restored. In the common apprehension, it became an absurdity, that one country should maintain authority over another, distant from it three thousand miles The restrictions of Great Britain upon the Colonial trade, in the course of investigation, appeared as a heavy burden, and the commerce of the world was viewed as a high reward of independence: common sense dictated, that the ability successfully to contend for the liberty formerly enjoyed as British Colonies, strenuously exerted, would secure to the country the more honourable and permanent blessings of an independent and sovereign nation. The declaration of independence was supposed to be the most effectual means to secure the aid of foreign powers; because the great kingdoms of Europe would be disposed to assist the efforts of the Colonies to establish an independent government, although they would not interfere with their struggles to regain the liberties of British subjects. By reasonings of this nature, the minds of the American people were ripened to renounce their allegiance to Britain, and to assume a place among independent nations; and the representatives of most of the Colonies were instructed to support in Congress measures for this important purpose.

Early in June, the following resolution was moved in Congress by Richard Henry Lee, and seconded by John Adams, "Resolved that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.' This resolution was solemnly de-

bated for several days, and finally passed Con-
JULY 4. gress, in the affirmative, by the unanimous suffrage of its members.

The duties of the field precluded General WASHINGTON from a primary agency in this important, national measure; but it met his full approbation. On the reception of the instrument, he wrote as follows to the President of Congress.

"I perceive that Congress have been employed in deliberating on measures of the most important nature. It is certain that it is not with us to determine in many instances, what consequences will flow from our counsels; but yet it behooves us to adopt such, as, under the smiles of a gracious and all kind Providence, will be most likely to promote our happiness. I trust the late decisive part they have taken, is calculated for that end, and will secure us that freedom, and those privileges, which have been, and are, refused us, contrary to the voice of nature, and the British Constitution. Agreeable to the request of Congress, I caused *The Declaration* to be proclaimed before all the army, under my immediate command; and have the pleasure to inform them, that the measure seemed to have their most hearty consent; the expressions and behaviour of both officers and men, testifying their warmest approbation of it."

General Howe had sailed from Halifax in June, and early in July landed his army, without serious opposition, on Staten Island; and on the twelfth of that month, he was joined by Lord Howe, with the reinforcements for the army. Lord Howe had been appointed to command the naval force on the American station; and he and the General were invested with the powers of Commissioners to treat with individuals, and with corporate bodies in the Colonies, upon terms of reconciliation with Britain. Although independence was already declared, yet they were anxious to commence negotiation; and though unwilling to recognise the official capacity of Congress, or of General

WASHINGTON, yet they desired to open with them a correspondence. His Lordship sent a letter by a flag, directed to "George Washington, Esq." This the General refused to receive, as "it did not acknowledge the publick character, with which he was invested by Congress, and in no other character could he have any intercourse with his Lordship." Congress, by a formal resolution, approved the dignified conduct of their General, and directed, "That no letter or message be received on any occasion whatever from the enemy, by the Commander in Chief, or others, the Commanders of the American army, but such as shall be directed to them in the character they respectively sustain."

An intercourse between the British commander, and General WASHINGTON, was greatly desired for political reasons, as well as for purposes growing out of the war. Not yet disposed to adopt his military address, they sent Colonel Patterson, Adjutant General of the British army, to the American head quarters, with a letter directed to "George Washington, &c. &c. &c." When the Colonel was introduced to the General, he addressed him by the title of Excellency, and said, "that General Howe greatly regretted the difficulty that had arisen respecting the address of the letter; that the manner of direction had been common with Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries, in cases of dispute about rank and precedency; that General WASHINGTON had himself, the last year, directed a letter in the following manner, "The Hon. William Howe;" that Lord and General Howe held his person and character in the highest respect, and did not mean to derogate from his rank; and, that the et ceteras implied every thing which ought to follow." He then laid the letter which had been before sent, on the table.

The General, declining its reception, observed, "that a letter, directed to a publick character, should have an address descriptive of that character, or it might be considered as a private letter. It was true that the

et ceteras implied every thing, they also implied any thing. The letter alluded to, was in answer to one received from General Howe, under the like address; which being received by the officer on duty, he did not think proper to return; and therefore answered in the same mode of address; and that he should absolutely decline any letter relating to his publick station, directed to him as a private person."

Colonel Patterson then said, that General Howe would not urge his delicacy farther, and repeated his assertion, that no failure of respect was intended. Some general conversation then passed, respecting the treatment of prisoners, when the Colonel proceeded to observe, that the goodness of the King had induced him to appoint Lord and General Howe his commissioners, to accommodate the dispute that had unhappily arisen; that their powers were very extensive, and they would be highly gratified in effecting the accommodation; and he wished his visit might be considered as the introduction to negotiation.

General Washington replied, that Congress had not invested him with powers to negotiate; but he would observe, that from what had transpired, it appeared that Lord and General Howe were only empowered to grant pardons: that they who had committed no faults, wanted no pardon; and that the Americans were only defending what they thought their indubitable rights. Colonel Patterson rejoined, that this would open a wide field of argument, and after expressing his fears, that an adherence to forms might obstruct business of the greatest moment, took his leave. The highest courtesy was observed in this conference: the address of Colonel Patterson was manly and polished; the American General fully supported the dignity of his character and station; and the scene was highly interesting to spectators

The Commander in Chief expected no salutary consequences to result from the agency of the British

commissioners. He apprehended, that their attempts at negotiation were calculated only to divide and weaken the continent; and he feared, that their measures would operate to relax the exertions of the United States to meet the conflicts of the field. In a private letter to a confidential friend, as early as May, he lamented the effects of this nature, which had actually been produced. "Many members of Congress," he wrote, "in short the representatives of whole provinces, are still feeding themselves on the dainty food of reconciliation; and although they will not allow that the expectation of it has any influence on their judgments, so far as respects preparations for defence, it is but too obvious that it has an operation upon every part of their conduct, and is a clog upon all their proceedings. It is not in the nature of things to be otherwise; for no man who entertains a hope of seeing this dispute speedily and equitably adjusted by commissioners, will go to the same expense, and incur the same hazards, to prepare for the worst event, that he will who believes that he must conquer or submit unconditionally, and take the consequences, such as confiscation and hanging."

Aug. 8. General Howe commanded a force of twenty-four thousand men, well disciplined, and abundantly supplied with every thing necessary to take the field; he daily expected to be reinforced by a second detachment of German troops; and he was supported by a fleet judiciously fitted to its destined service. To oppose this formidable enemy, General Washington had under his direction seventeen thousand two hundred and twenty-five men; of these three thousand six hundred and sixty-eight were in the hospital. His effective force was disposed in New-York, on Long and Governour's Islands, and at Paulus Hook; and he informed Congress, that in case of an attack, he could promise himself only the addition of one small battalion. Some of the posts occupied by the army were fifteen miles distant from others, and

navigable waters intervened. "These things," observed the General, "are melancholy, but they are nevertheless true. I hope for better. Under every disadvantage, my utmost exertions shall be employed, to bring about the great end we have in view; and so far as I can judge from the professions and apparent disposition of my troops, I shall have their support. The superiority of the enemy, and the expected attack do not seem to have depressed their spirits. These considerations lead me to think, that though the appeal may not terminate so happily as I could wish, yet the enemy will not succeed in their views without considerable loss. Any advantage they may gain, will, I trust, cost them dear."

Before serious hostilities commenced, the American army was reinforced by several regiments of permanent troops, and by detachments of militia, which made the whole number amount to twenty-seven thousand; but the men were not accustomed to the life of the camp; they were much exposed from the want of tents, and one quarter of the whole army were taken from duty by sickness.

While waiting the tardy movements of the enemy, General Washington, apprised of the impressions that would be made by the event of the first encounter, exerted himself to the utmost to bring his inexperienced troops under subordination, and to excite in them military ardour, without which he could have no hope of successful warfare. In general orders, he called upon officers to be cool in action, and upon the soldiery to be obedient to orders, and to be firm and courageous. He directed, that any soldier, who deserted his ranks in time of battle, should be immediately shot down. He desired commanders of corps to report to him every instance of distinguished bravery in the soldiery, with promise of reward. He endeavoured, by the love of liberty, of country, and of posterity, to animate his army to do their duty. "The time," he observed,

"is now at hand, which must probably determine whether Americans are to be free men or slaves, whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and themselves consigned to a state of wretchedness, from which no human efforts will deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us only the choice of a brave resistance, or the most abject submission. We have to resolve to conquer, or to die. Our own, our country's honour call upon us for a vigorous and manly exertion; and if we now shamefully fail, we shall become infamous to the whole world. Let us then rely on the goodness of our cause, and on the aid of the Supreme Being, in whose hand victory is, to animate and encourage us to great and noble actions. The eyes of all our countrymen are now upon us, and we shall have their blessing and praises, if happily we are the instruments of saving them from the tyranny meditated against them. Let us therefore animate and encourage each other, and show the whole world, that a freeman, contending for liberty on his own ground, is superiour to any slavish mercenary on earth."

JULY 21 In the communication to his army of the success of the Americans at Fort Moultrie, near Charleston, he thus laboured to excite them to emulate the bravery of their countrymen in South Carolina.

"This glorious example of our troops, under he like circumstances with ourselves, the General hopes, will animate every officer and soldier to imitate, and even to outdo them, when the enemy shall make the same attempt on us. With such a bright example before us, of what can be done by brave men, fighting in defence of their country, we shall be loaded with a double share of shame and infamy, if we do not acquit

ourselves with courage, and manifest a determined resolution to conquer or die. With the hope and confidence that this army will have an equal share of honour and success, the General most earnestly exhorts every officer and soldier to pay the utmost attention to his arms and health; to have the former in the best order for action, and by cleanliness and care to preserve the latter; to be exact in their discipline, obedient to their superiours, and vigilant on duty. With such preparations and a suitable spirit, there can be no doubt but, by the blessing of heaven, we shall repel our cruel invaders, preserve our country, and gain the greatest honour."

In the immediate view of the arduous conflict, the General once more endeavoured to inspire his army with the heroism necessary successfully to sustain it.

"The enemy's whole reinforcement is now arrived," said he, "so that an attack must, and soon will be made. The General therefore again repeats his earnest request, that every officer and soldier will have his arms and ammunition in good order; keep within his quarters and encampment, as much as possible; be ready for action at a moment's call; and when called to it, remember, that liberty, property, life, and honour are all at stake; that upon their courage and conduct, rest the hopes of their bleeding and insulted country; that their wives, children, and parents, expect safety from them alone; and that we have every reason to believe that heaven will crown with success so just a cause.

"The enemy will endeavour to intimidate by show and appearance; but remember, they have been repulsed on various occasions, by a few brave Americans. Their cause is bad; their men are conscious of it; and if opposed with firmness and coolness on their first onset, with our advantage of works, and knowledge of the ground, the victory most assuredly is ours. Every good soldier will be silent and attentive, wait

for orders, and reserve his fire until he is sure of doing execution; of this the officers are to be particularly careful."

The possession of Long Island is essential to the defence of New-York. It had been determined in a Council of war, to fortify a camp at Brooklyn, fronting New-York; and stretching across that end of Long Island, from East river to Gowan's cove. The rear of this encampment was defended by batteries on Red Hook and Governour's Island, and by works on East River, which secured the communication with the city. In front of the encampment, ran a range of hills from east to west across the island. These were covered with wood, and were steep, but could any where be ascended by infantry. Over this range were three passes, leading by three roads to Brooklyn ferry.

A strong detachment of the American army was posted on Long Island, under the command of General Greene, who made himself intimately acquainted with the passes on the hills; but unfortunately becoming sick, General Sullivan succeeded him in this command only a few days before active operations commenced. The main body of the American army remained on York Island. A flying camp, composed of militia, was formed at Amboy, to prevent the depredations of the enemy in New-Jersey; and a force was stationed near New Rochelle, and at East and West Chester on the Sound, to check the progress of the enemy, should they attempt to land above King's bridge, and enclose the Americans on York Island. The head quarters of General WASHINGTON were in the city, but he was daily over at Brooklyn to inspect the state of that camp, and to make the best arrangements circumstances would admit.

An immediate attack being expected on Long Island, General Sullivan was reinforced, and directed carefully to watch the passes.

On the 26th the main body of the British troops

with a large detachment of Germans, landed under cover of the ships, on the south western extremity of Long Island. A regiment of militia stationed on the coast, retreated before them to the heights. A large reinforcement was sent to the camp at Brooklyn, and the command of the post given to General Putnam, who was particularly charged to guard the woods, and to hold himself constantly prepared to meet the assault of the enemy.

On the same day, the British, in three divisions, took post upon the south skirt of the wood; General Grant upon their left, near the coast; the German General de Heister in the centre at Flatbush; and General Clinton upon their right at Flatland. The range of hills only now separated the two armies, and the different posts of the British were distant from the American camp, from four to six miles. Upon their left, a road to Brooklyn lay along the coast by Gowan's cove, before General Grant's division. From Flatbush a direct road ran to the American camp, in which the Germans might proceed. General Clinton might either unite with the Germans, or take a more eastern route, and fall into the Jamaica road by the way of Bedford. These three roads unite near Brooklyn. On the pass at Flatbush, the Americans had thrown up a small redoubt, mounted it with artillery, and manned it with a body of troops. Major General Sullivan continued to command on the heights.

Aug 26. In the evening, General Clinton, without beat of drum, marched with the infantry of his division, a party of light horse, and fourteen field pieces, to gain the defile on the Jamaica road. A few hours before day, he surprised an American party stationed here to give the alarm of an approaching enemy, and undiscovered by Sullivan seized the pass. At day light he passed the heights, and descended into the plain on the side of Brooklyn. Early in the morning, General de Heister, at Flatbush,

and General Grant upon the west coast, opened a cannonade upon the American troops, and began to ascend the hill; but they moved very slowly, as their object was to draw the attention of the American commander from his left, and give General Clinton opportunity to gain the rear of the American troops stationed on the heights. General Putnam, in the apprehension that the serious attack would be made by de Heister and Grant, sent detachments to reinforce General Sullivan and Lord Sterling at the defiles, through which those divisions of the enemy were approaching. When General Clinton had passed the left flank of the Americans, about eight o'clock in the morning of the 27th, de Heister and Grant vigorously ascended the hill; the troops which opposed them, bravely maintained their ground, until they learned their perilous situation from the British columns, which were gaining their rear.

As soon as the American left discovered the progress of General Clinton, they attempted to return to the camp at Brooklyn; but their flight was stopped by the front of the British column. In the mean time, the Germans pushed forward from Flatbush, and the troops in the American centre, under the immediate command of General Sullivan, having also discovered that their flank was turned, and that the enemy was gaining their rear, in haste retreated towards Brooklyn. Clinton's columns continuing to advance, intercepted them, they were attacked in front and rear, and alternately driven by the British on the Germans, and by the Germans on the British. Desperate as their situation was, some regiments broke through the enemy's columns and regained the fortified camp; but most of the detachments upon the American left and centre were either killed or taken prisoners.

The detachment on the American right, under Lord Sterling, behaved well, and maintained a severe conflict with General Grant for six hours, until the van of

General Clinton's division, having crossed the whole island, gained their rear. Lord Sterling perceived his danger, and found that his troops could be saved only by an immediate retreat over a creek near the cove He gave orders to this purpose; and, to facilitate their execution, he in person attacked Lord Cornwallis, who, by this time having gained the coast, had posted a small corps in a house, just above the place where the American troops must pass the creek. The attack was bravely made with four hundred men, who, in the opinion of their commander, were upon the point of dislodging Cornwallis; but his Lordship being reinforced from his own column, and General Grant attacking Lord Sterling in the rear, this brave band was overpowered by numbers, and those who survived were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war; but this spirited assault gave opportunity for a large proportion of the detachment to escape.

The loss of the Americans on this occasion, for the number engaged, was great; General WASHINGTON stated it at a thousand men; but his returns probably included only the regular regiments. General Howe, in an official letter, made the prisoners amount to one thousand and ninety-seven. Among these were Major General Sullivan, and Brigadier Generals Sterling and Woodhull. The amount of the killed was never with precision ascertained. Numbers were supposed to have been drowned in the creek, and some to have perished in the mud on the marsh. The British loss acknowedged by General Howe, was twenty-one officers, and three hundred and forty-six privates killed, wounded, and taken.

General WASHINGTON passed over to Brooklyn in the heat of the action; but unable to rescue his men from their perilous situation, was constrained to be the inactive spectator of the slaughter of his best troops.

At the close of the day, the British approached in front of the American works, and it has been said, that

the troops, in their ardour, exhibited a strong inclination to storm the lines; but General Howe, remembering Bunker Hill, prudently restrained them from the assault.

Determining to carry the American works by regular approaches, the British commander broke ground, on the night of the 28th, within six hundred yards of a redoubt.

General WASHINGTON was fully sensible of the danger that awaited him. The success of the enemy by regular approaches was certain. His troops were without tents, and had already suffered extremely by heavy rains. The movements of the British fleet indicated an intention to force a passage into the East river, and cut off the retreat of the troops to the city. Should they accomplish this, the situation of the army on Long Island would be desperate. An immediate retreat to the city was therefore thought expedient. The measure was happily accomplished, on the night of the 29th, with all the stores, and military apparatus, except a few pieces of heavy artillery, which the softness of the ground rendered it impossible to move.

This important retreat was made with so much silence and address, that the enemy did not perceive it, although so near that the noise of their intrenching tools was distinctly heard by the Americans. A heavy fog hung over Long Island until late in the morning of the 30th, which hid the movements of the American army from General Howe. When it cleared, the rear guard was seen crossing East river, out of reach of the British fire. The General in person inspected the details of this critical retreat; and for the forty-eight hours, which preceded its completion, in his own language, he was "hardly off his horse, and never closed his eyes." He did not leave the island before the covering party marched from the lines.

The attempt to defend Long Island has by many been considered, as an errour in the military opera

tions of the American General. But before his judgment, in this instance, is condemned, the reasons which led to it ought to be weighed. Its possession was highly important to either army; its situation rendered its defence, in a good degree, probable; the range of hills was favourable to the obstruction of an invading enemy; and a fortified camp in the rear opening a communication with the city, and supported by batteries on Governour's Island and the East river, rendered a retreat practicable, when circumstances should make it necessary. There was then a fair prospect of defending the island; at least of detaining the enemy so long in the effort to gain possession of it, as to waste the campaign in the contention. The disastrous consequences of this measure, are not to be attributed to any defect in the original plan, but to the neglect of the commanding officer on the island in guarding the pass on the road from Jamaica to Bedford. Unfortunately this officer was changed at the time, when hostilities were about to commence; and the General, who directed the disposition of the troops on the day of the action, was imperfectly acquainted with the passes in the mountains. General WASHINGTON, by written instructions, directed this officer "Particularly to guard the defiles in the woods, and to render the approach of the enemy through them as difficult as possible." This order was not fully executed. It appears, that General Sullivan was not apprized of the march of the British detachment from Flatbush to Flatland, on the evening of the 26th, and a guard on the Jamaica road did not seasonably discover the approach of the enemy to give information. General Howe, in his official letter, mentioned, that an American patroling party was taken on this road; and General WASHINGTON in a letter to a friend wrote, "This misfortune happened in a great measure, by two detachments of our people, who were posted in two roads leading through a wood to intercept the enemy in their

march, suffering a surprise, and making a precipitate retreat."

It should also be recollected, that the plans of the Commander in Chief, were laid in the expectation of a much larger force, than in the event he realized. The regiments were not complete; and he was absolutely destitute of cavalry. There was not a single company of horse on Long Island to watch the motions of the enemy, and give information of their movements. This furnishes some apology for the ignorance of the commanding officer on Long Island, respecting the manœuvre of the enemy.

The defeat of the 27th made a most unfavourable impression upon the army. A great proportion of the troops lost their confidence in their officers, and in themselves. Before this unfortunate event, they met the enemy in the spirit of freemen, fighting for their highest interests, and under the persuasion, that their thorough use of arms, rendered them equal to the disciplined battalions which they were to oppose. But, on this occasion, by evolutions, which they did not comprehend, they found themselves encompassed with difficulties, from which their utmost exertions could not extricate, and involved in dangers, from which their bravery could not deliver them; and entertaining a high opinion of the adroitness of the enemy, in every movement, they apprehended a fatal snare.

These melancholy facts were thus narrated by General Washington, in his letter to Congress. "Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo, has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off—in some instances, almost by whole regiments by half ones, and by com-

panies at a time. This circumstance, of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well appointed enemy, superiour in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable: but when their example has infected another part of the army; when their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have produced a like conduct, but too common to the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary to the well doing of an army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of, our condition is still more alarming; and with the deepest concern I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops."

The British General being in possession of Long Island, prepared to attack New-York. The body of the fleet lay at anchor near Governour's Island; but particular ships passed up the East river, without sustaining injury from the American batteries; others, sailing round Long Island into the Sound, passed up to the higher part of York Island. By these movements, the situation of the American army became critical. It was uncertain whether the attack would be made upon the lines, or whether General Howe would land his troops above King's bridge, and enclose the Americans. To guard against the danger which threatened him, the Commander in Chief ordered the stores, that were not of present necessity, to be removed above King's bridge, and assembled a Council to determine upon the expediency
Sept. 7. of retreating from the city. The majority of his general officers voted against the immediate evacuation of New-York. The plan recommended was to station the army in the best manner, to defend the points menaced with attack, that the enemy might waste the residue of the season in the struggle to possess York Island. The belief that Congress de-

sized that New-York should be maintained to extremity, probably had influence on this Council. In communicating the adopted plan to that body, General WASHINGTON clearly indicated an opinion, that an immediate evacuation of New-York was expedient. Speaking of the enemy, he observed,

"It is now extremely obvious, from all intelligence, from their movements, and every other circumstance, that having landed their whole army on Long Island, (except about four thousand on Staten Island) they mean to enclose us on the Island of New-York, by taking post in our rear, while the shipping effectually secure the front; and thus, either by cutting off our communication with the country, oblige us to fight them on their own terms, or surrender at discretion, or, by a brilliant stroke, endeavour to cut this army in pieces, and secure the collection of arms and stores, which they well know we shall not be able soon to replace.

"Having, therefore, their system unfolded to us, it became an important consideration, how it would be most successfully opposed. On every side there is a choice of difficulties; and every measure, on our part (however painful the reflection be from experience) to be formed with some apprehension that all our troops will not do their duty. In deliberating on this great question, it was impossible to forget, that history, our own experience, the advice of our ablest friends in Europe, the fears of the enemy, and even the declarations of Congress, demonstrate, that on our side, the war should be defensive—(it has ever been called a war of posts)—that we should on all occasions avoid a general action, nor put any thing to the risk, unless compelled by a necessity into which we ought never to be drawn.

"It was concluded to arrange the army under three divisions; five thousand to remain for the defence of the city; nine thousand to King's bridge and its dependences, as well to possess and secure those posts,

as to be ready to attack the enemy who are moving eastward on Long Island, if they should attempt to land on this side; the remainder to occupy the intermediate space, and support either; that the sick should be immediately removed to Orangetown, and barracks prepared at King's bridge with all possible expedition to cover the troops.

"There were some general officers, in whose judgment and opinion, much confidence is to be reposed, that were for a total and immediate removal from the city, urging the great danger of one part of the army being cut off before the other can support it, the extremities being at least sixteen miles apart; that our army, when collected, is inferiour to the enemy; that they can move with their whole force to any point of attack, and consequently must succeed by weight of numbers, if they have only a part to oppose them; that, by removing from hence, we deprive the enemy of the advantage of their ships, which will make at least one half of the force to attack the town; that we should keep the enemy at bay, put nothing to the hazard, but at all events, keep the army together, which may be recruited another year; that the unspent stores will also be preserved; and, in this case, the heavy artillery can also be secured."

In the full expectation that a retreat from York Island would soon become necessary, the General assiduously continued the removal of the stores and heavy baggage to a place of safety.

The General officers became alarmed at
SEPT. 12. the danger of the army, and, in a second Council, determined to remove it from New-York.

On the fourteenth, several British ships passed up the East river, and large bodies of troops were moved to Montezore's Island with the apparent intention to land either upon the continent above King's bridge, and wholly to enclose the Americans, or upon the

plains of Huerlem on York Island, to break the line of communication between the different divisions of their army, and attack them in situations, in which they would be unable to support each other. The next morning General Clinton landed under cover of five men of war, with four thousand men, three miles above the city of New-York.

Sept. 14. The American lines at this place were capable of defence, but the men posted in them, on the firing of the ships, without waiting for the attack of the enemy, abandoned them. As soon as the cannonading began, two brigades were detached from the main body to support the troops in the breast works, the fugitives communicated to them their panic, and General Washington, in riding to the scene of action, met his troops retreating in the utmost confusion, disregarding the efforts of their Generals to stop them. While the Commander in Chief was, with some effect, exerting himself to rally them, a very small body of the enemy appeared in sight, on which the men again broke, and a most dastardly route ensued. At this unfortunate moment, and only at this moment through his whole life, General Washington appears to have lost his fortitude. All the shameful and disastrous consequences of the defection of his army, rushed upon his mind, and bore down his spirits. In a paroxysm of despair, he turned his horse towards the enemy, seemingly with the intention to avoid the disgrace of the day by the sacrifice of his life: his aids seized the horse's bridle, and, with friendly violence, rescued him from the destruction that awaited him.

In consequence of the failure of the troops upon the lines, the evacuation of New-York was necessarily made in haste. It was happily accomplished with the loss of very few men; but most of the heavy artillery, many of the tents, and a great part of the stores, which had not been previously removed, were unavoidably left behind

The American army having been driven from New-York, the British General stationed a detachment to guard the city; and posted his main army in front of the American lines on the north end of York Island. Their right extended to the East, and their left to the North river; and both their flanks were covered by ships of war. The island at Bloomingdale, the place of the British encampment, is two miles wide.

The strongest post of the Americans was at King's bridge, which secured their communication with the country. M'Gowan's pass, and Morn's heights were also rendered defensible; and within a mile and a half of the enemy, a detachment was posted in a fortified camp, on the heights of Haerlem. The Commander in Chief was pleased with this disposition of his army; he thought it must lead to those frequent skirmishes, which would insensibly wear off the depression occasioned by the late defeat, and restore to his men confidence in themselves. He indulged the hope that by these services, the discipline would be introduced into the army, absolutely necessary to successful war, when every individual does his appropriate duty, confiding for his security in the skill of his General, and in the united efforts of his fellow soldiers.

SEPT. 16. The very day after the retreat from the city, a party of the enemy appeared in the plain between the two hostile camps. The General rode to the outpost to embrace the opportunity to attack them. Lieutenant Colonel Knowlton, of Connecticut, a brave officer, who had been skirmishing with the party, stated their number at three hundred. The General detached Colonel Knowlton and Major Leitch, of Virginia, to gain their rear, while he occupied their attention by movements indicating a design to attack them in front. Colonel Knowlton and Major Leitch, after leading their corps into action in a most soldier-like manner, were both soon brought

off the field mortally wounded; yet the men under their Captains, bravely continued the attack, and drove an enemy, superiour in numbers, from their position. The Americans had fifty men killed and wounded, and the British twice that number.

This skirmish, trifling in itself, was improved to valuable purposes. The Commander in Chief in general orders, applauded the bravery of officers and men; contrasted it with the cowardly behaviour of the troops the day before; called upon the whole army to emulate this honourable example; and from the issue of this conflict, pointed out what brave men might effect, when fighting in the best of causes. The parole next day was Leitch. In filling the vacancy occasioned by the death of the Colonel, the General mentioned that the officer succeeded "the gallant and brave Colonel Knowlton, who would have been an honour to any country, and who had fallen gloriously fighting at his post." The success of this rencounter had a general effect upon the spirits of the army.

In addition to the arduous duties of this campaign, which were sufficient to employ the time, and test the talents of the greatest military character; the state of the army furnished a weighty subject of attention to General WASHINGTON. He dwelt upon the gloomy prospects of the succeeding winter. The clothing of the men was suited only to the warm season, and their time of enlistment expired with the year. The consequent distresses in all their magnitude rose to his mind, and in the following letter, he endeavoured to impress Congress with a lively sense of the situation of the army; and to call forth their highest endeavours to arrest the approaching evils.

"From the hours allotted to sleep, I will borrow a few moments to convey my thoughts on sundry important matters, to Congress. I shall offer them with the sincerity which ought to characterize a man of candour; and with the freedom which may be used in

giving useful information, without incurring the imputation of presumption.

"We are now, as it were, upon the eve of another dissolution of our army. The remembrance of the difficulties which happened upon that occasion last year; the consequences which might have followed the change, if proper advantage had been taken by the enemy; added to a knowledge of the present temper and situation of the troops, reflect but a very gloomy prospect upon the appearance of things now, and satisfy me, beyond the possibility of doubt, that unless some speedy and effectual measures are adopted by Congress, our cause will be lost.

"It is in vain to expect that any, or more than a trifling part, of this army will engage again in the service, on the encouragement offered by Congress. When men find that their townsmen and companions are receiving twenty, thirty, and more dollars, for a few months' service (which is truly the case) this cannot be expected without using compulsion; and to force them into the service would answer no valuable purpose. When men are irritated, and their passions inflamed, they fly hastily and cheerfully to arms; but after the first emotions are over, to expect among such people as compose the bulk of an army, that they are influenced by any other principles than those of interest, is to look for what never did, and I fear never will, happen; the Congress will deceive themselves, therefore, if they expect it.

"A soldier, reasoned with upon the goodness of the cause he is engaged in, and the inestimable rights he is contending for, hears you with patience, and acknowledges the truth of your observations; but adds, that it is of no more consequence to him than to others. The officer makes you the same reply, with this further remark, that his pay will not support him, and he cannot ruin himself and family to serve his country, when every member in the community is

equally benefited and interested by his labours. The few, therefore, who act upon principles of disinterestedness, are, comparatively speaking, no more than a drop in the ocean. It becomes evidently clear then, that, as this contest is not likely to be the work of a day; as the war must be carried on systematically, and to do it you must have good officers; there is, in my judgment, no other possible means to obtain them, but by establishing your army upon a permanent footing, and giving your officers good pay; this will induce gentlemen, and men of character to engage, and until the bulk of your officers are composed of such persons as are actuated by principles of honour and a spirit of enterprise, you have little to expect from them. They ought to have such allowances, as will enable them to live like, and support the characters of gentlemen; and not to be driven by a scanty pittance to the low and dirty arts which many of them practice, to filch the publick of more than the difference of pay would amount to, upon an ample allowance. Besides, something is due to the man who puts his life in your hands, hazards his health, and forsakes the sweets of domestick enjoyments. Why a captain in the continental service should receive no more than five shillings currency per day, for performing the same duties that an officer of the same rank in the British service receives ten shillings sterling for, I never could conceive; especially when the latter is provided with every thing necessary he requires upon the best terms, and the former can scarcely procure them at any rate. There is nothing that gives a man consequence, and renders him fit for command, like a support that renders him independent of every body but the state he serves.

"With respect to the men, nothing but a good bounty can obtain them upon a permanent establishment, and for no shorter time than the continuance of the war, ought they to be engaged; as facts incontestably

prove, that the difficulty and cost of enlistments increase with time. When the army was first raised at Cambridge, I am persuaded the men might have been got without a bounty for the war; after that, they began to see that the contest was not likely to end so speedily as was imagined, and to feel their consequence by remarking, that to get their militia in, in the course of last year, many towns were induced to give them a bounty. Foreseeing the evils resulting from this, and the destructive consequences which would unavoidably follow short enlistments, I took the liberty in a long letter, to recommend the enlistments for and during the war, assigning such reasons for it, as experience has since convinced me were well founded At that time, twenty dollars would, I am persuaded, have engaged the men for this term: but it will not do to look back, and if the present opportunity be slipped, I am persuaded that twelve months more will increase our difficulties four-fold. I shall therefore take the liberty of giving it as my opinion, that a good bounty be immediately offered, aided by the proffer of at least a hundred, or a hundred and fifty acres of land, and a suit of clothes, and a blanket to each non-commissioned officer and soldier, as I have good authority for saying, that however high the men's pay may appear, it is barely sufficient, in the present scarcity and dearness of all kinds of goods, to keep them in clothes, much less to afford support to their families. If this encouragement then be given to the men, and such pay allowed to the officers, as will induce gentlemen of liberal character and liberal sentiments to engage, and proper care and caution be used in the nomination (having more regard to the character of persons, than the number of men they can enlist) we should in a little time have an army able to cope with any that can be opposed to it, as there are excellent materials to form one out of; but while the only merit an officer possesses is his ability to raise men: while those men

consider and treat him as an equal, and in the character of an officer, regard him no more than a broomstick, being mixed together as one common herd; no order nor discipline can prevail, nor will the officer ever meet with that respect which is essentially necessary to due subordination.

"To place any dependence upon militia, is assuredly resting upon a broken staff. Men just dragged from the tender scenes of domestick life; unaccustomed to the din of arms; totally unacquainted with every kind of military skill; which, being followed by a want of confidence in themselves, when opposed to troops regularly trained, disciplined, and appointed, superiour in knowledge, and superiour in arms, makes them timid and ready to fly from their own shadows. Besides, the sudden change in their manner of living, particularly in their lodging, brings on sickness in many, impatience in all; and such an unconquerable desire of returning to their respective homes, that it not only produces shameful and scandalous desertions among themselves, but infuses the like spirit in others. Again, men accustomed to unbounded freedom, and no control, cannot brook the restraint which is indispensably necessary to the good order and government of an army; without which, licentiousness and every kind of disorder triumphantly reign. To bring men to a proper degree of subordination, is not the work of a day, a month, or a year; and unhappily for us, and the cause we are engaged in, the little discipline I have been labouring to establish in the army under my immediate command, is in a manner done away by having such a mixture of troops, as have been called together within these few months.

"Relaxed and unfit as our rules and regulations of war are for the government of an army, the militia, (those properly so called, for of these we have two sorts, the six months' men, and those sent in as a temporary aid) do not think themselves subject to them, and

therefore take liberties which the soldier is punished for. This creates jealousy, jealousy begets dissatisfaction, and these by degrees ripen into mutiny; keeping the whole army in a confused and disordered state; rendering the time of those, who wish to see regularity and good order prevail, more unhappy than words can describe; besides this, such repeated changes take place, that all arrangement is set at nought; and the constant fluctuation of things deranges every plan, as fast as it is adopted.

"These, sir, Congress may be assured are but a small part of the inconveniences which might be enumerated and attributed to militia: but there is one which merits particular attention, and that is the expense. Certain I am, that it would be cheaper to keep fifty, or a hundred thousand men in constant pay, than to depend upon half the number, and supply the other half occasionally by militia. The time the latter is in pay, before and after they are in camp, assembling and marching, the waste of ammunition; the consumption of stores which, in spite of every resolution and requisition of Congress, they must be furnished with, or sent home; added to other incidental expenses consequent upon their coming, and conduct in camp, surpass all idea; and destroy every kind of regularity and economy, which you could establish among fixed and settled troops; and will, in my opinion, prove (if the same be adhered to) the ruin of our cause.

"The jealousies of a standing army, and the evils to be apprehended from one, are remote; and in my judgment, situated and circumstanced as we are, not at all to be dreaded; but the consequence of wanting one, according to my ideas, formed upon the present view of things, is certain and inevitable ruin; for if I were called upon to declare upon oath, whether the militia have been more serviceable or hurtful on the whole, I should subscribe to the latter. I do not mean

by this, however, to arraign the conduct of Congress; in so doing, I should equally condemn my own measures, if not my judgment; but experience, which is the best criterion to work by, so fully, clearly, and decisively, reprobates the practice of trusting to militia, that no man who regards order, regularity, and economy, or who has any regard for his own honour, character, or peace of mind, will risk them upon militia."

"Before I knew of the late resolutions of Congress which you did me the honour to enclose in your letter of the 24th, and before I was favoured with the visit of your committee, I took the liberty of giving you my sentiments on several points which seemed to be of importance.

"I have no doubt but that the committee will make such report of the state and condition of the army as will induce Congress to believe that nothing but the most vigorous exertions can put matters upon such a footing, as to give this continent a fair prospect of success. Give me leave to say, sir, I say it with due deference and respect, (and my knowledge of the facts, added to the importance of the cause, and the stake I hold in it, must justify the freedom) that your affairs are in a more unpropitious way than you seem to apprehend.

"Your army, as mentioned in my last, is upon the eve of its political dissolution. True it is, you have voted a larger one in lieu of it; but the season is late, and there is a material difference between voting battalions and raising men. In the latter there are more difficulties than Congress seem aware of, which makes it my duty (as I have been informed of the prevailing sentiments of this army) to inform them, that, unless the pay of the officers, (especially that of the field officers) be raised, the chief part of those that are worth retaining will leave the service at the expiration of the

present term; as the soldiers will also, if some greater encouragement be not offered them, than twenty dollars, and one hundred acres of land.

"Nothing less, in my opinion, than a suit of clothes annually given to each non-commissioned officer and soldier, in addition to the pay and bounty, will avail; and I question whether that will do, as the enemy from the information of one John Marsh, who, with six others, was taken by our guards, are giving ten pounds bounty for recruits, and have got a battalion under Major Rodgers, nearly completed upon Long Island.

"Nor will less pay, according to my judgment, than I have taken the liberty of mentioning in the enclosed estimate, retain such officers as we could wish to have continued; the difference per month in each battalion would amount to better than one hundred pounds; to this may be added the pay of the staff officers; for it is presumable they will also require an augmentation, but being few in number, the sum will not be greatly increased by them, and consequently is a matter of no great moment; but it is a matter of no small importance to make the several offices desirable. When the pay and establishment of an officer once become objects of interested attention, the sloth, negligence, and even disobedience of orders, which at this time but too generally prevail, will be purged off. But while the service is viewed with indifference; while the officer conceives that he is rather conferring than receiving an obligation; there will be a total relaxation of all order and discipline, and every thing will move heavily on, to the great detriment of the service, and inexpressible trouble and vexation to the General.

"The critical situation of our affairs at this time will justify my saying, that no time is to be lost in making fruitless experiments. An unavailing trial of a month, to get an army, upon the terms proposed, may render it impracticable to do it at all; and prove fatal to our cause, as I am not sure whether any rubs

in the way of our enlistments or unfavourable turn in our affairs, may not prove the means of the enemy's recruiting men faster than we do. To this may be added the inextricable difficulty of forming one corps out of another, and arranging matters with any degree of order, in the face of an enemy who are watching for advantages.

"At Cambridge last year, where the officers (and more than a sufficiency of them) were all upon the spot, we found it a work of such extreme difficulty to know their sentiments (each having some terms to propose) that I despaired, once, of getting the arrangement completed, and do suppose that at least a hundred alterations took place before matters were finally adjusted; what must it be then under the present regulation, where the officer is to negotiate this matter with the state he comes from, distant, perhaps, two or three hundred miles; some of whom, without any license from me, set out to make personal application, the moment the resolution got to their hands? What kind of officers these are, I leave Congress to judge.

"If an officer of reputation (for none other should be applied to) be asked to stay, what answer can he give? But in the first place, that he does not know whether it be at his option to do so; no provision being made in the resolution of Congress, even recommendatory of this measure, consequently, that it rests with the state he comes from, (surrounded, perhaps, with a variety of applications, and influenced perhaps with local attachments) to determine whether he can be provided for, or not. In the next place, if he be an officer of merit, and knows that the state he comes from is to furnish more battalions than it at present has in the service, he will scarcely, after two years' faithful services, think of continuing in the rank he now bears, when new creations are to be made and

men appointed to offices (no ways superiour in merit, and ignorant of service perhaps) over his head.

"A Committee sent to the army from each state may, upon the spot, fix things with a degree of propriety and certainty, and is the only method I can see, of bringing measures to a decision with respect to the officers of the army; but what can be done in the mean time towards the arrangement in the country, I know not. In the one case, you run the hazard of losing your officers; in the other of encountering delay; unless some method could be devised of forwarding both at the same instant.

"Upon the present plan, I plainly foresee an intervention of time between the old and new army, which must be filled with militia, if to be had, with whom no man, who has any regard for his own reputation, can undertake to be answerable for consequences. I shall also be mistaken in my conjectures, if we do not lose the most valuable officers in this army, under the present mode of appointing them; consequently, if we have an army at all, it will be composed of materials not only entirely raw, but if uncommon pains be not taken, entirely unfit; and I see such a distrust and jealousy of military power, that the Commander in Chief has not an opportunity, even by recommendation, to give the least assurances of reward for the most essential services.

"In a word, such a cloud of perplexing circumstances appears before me, without one flattering hope that I am thoroughly convinced, unless the most vigorous and decisive exertions be immediately adopted to remedy these evils, that the certain and absolute loss of our liberties will be the inevitable consequence; as one unhappy stroke will throw a powerful weight into the scale against us, and enable General Howe to recruit his army as fast as we shall ours; numbers being disposed, and many actually doing so already. Some

of the most probable remedies, and such as experience has brought to my more intimate knowledge, I have taken the liberty to point out, the rest I beg leave to submit to the consideration of Congress.

"I ask pardon for taking up so much of their time with my opinions, but I should betray that trust which they and my country have reposed in me, were I to be silent upon matters so extremely interesting."

General Howe too well understood the duty of a commander to attempt to storm the strong camp of his opponent. He adopted the plan of transporting his army above King's bridge and forming an encampment in rear of General WASHINGTON's lines. This manœuvre, he expected, would either occasion the American Commander hastily to abandon his encampment, or oblige him to hazard a general engagement under circumstances which would render a defeat absolute ruin. To facilitate this design, he fortified M'Gowan's hill for the defence of the city. Three frigates passed up the North river without injury from the fire of Forts Washington and Lee, and without impediment from the chevauxdefrise that had been sunk in the river. The great body of troops
Oct 12. on York Island was embarked in flat bottomed boats, conveyed through Hurl Gate, and landed at Frog's Neck, near West Chester.

General WASHINGTON fully comprehended the plan of the British Commander, and immediately adopted measures to defeat it. The bridges were removed from the only road, in which the British columns could march from Frog's Neck to the American encampment, the ground being rough and in many places intersected by stone walls. The road itself was broken up, guns were mounted upon heights the most favourable to annoy approaching troops, and detachments were sent out to act in front of the enemy, and to check his progress. As General Howe prosecuted his scheme, it became evident to the American General Officers,

that a change of position was necessary to save their army from destruction. General Lee about this time joined this army, and urged the immediate execution of the measure. The advice of his officers according with his own judgment, the Commander in Chief moved the army from York Island, and strotched it along the North river towards the White Plains, until its left was extended above the enemy's right. It was, however, determined to maintain Forts Washington and Lee. The resolution of Congress of the 11th of October, requesting General WASHINGTON in every possible way to obstruct the navigation of the river, had great influence on this decision. The removal of the stores was a heavy task to the men from the want of teams.

General Howe moved his army to New-
OCT. 13. Rochelle. Several sharp skirmishes ensued, in which the American troops behaved well. Both armies manœuvred for several days to obtain possession of the high grounds of the White Plains. General WASHINGTON narrowly watched the movements of his enemy, and to secure a communication with the country, and to cover the removal of his heavy baggage, he disposed his forces upon the different heights from Voluntine's Hill, near King's bridge, to the White Plains, forming a chain of fortified posts, twelve or thirteen miles in extent. He now fronted the British line of march, the river Brunx running between the two armies. During these operations severe skirmishes took place between advanced corps, and a bold attempt was made to cut off a British regiment, which partially succeeded. The enterprise of the American commander rendered General Howe extremely cautious; his movements were made in close order, and in his encampments every corps was strongly secured.

The sick and the stores having been re-
OCT. 25. moved to places of safety, General WASHINGTON drew in his outposts, and took possession of the hills on the east side of the Brunx, in

front of the British army. A detachment was posted on a hill a mile from the main body, on the west side of the river, to cover the right wing; and entrenchments were formed, as time permitted, to render the lines more defensible.

Oct. 28 The manœuvres of General Howe indicated the intention to attack the American camp; he reconnoitred their position, and with little effect opened a heavy cannonade upon it. He detached a large corps over the Brunx to drive the Americans from the hill on their right, and thereby open the way for an assault upon the right and centre of the main body. The charge was sustained with spirit; but finally the Americans were overpowered by numbers, and driven from this position. The loss of the Americans in the gallant conflict; in killed, wounded, and taken, was between three and four hundred; that of the British was not less. The day was so far spent in the struggle, that General Howe deferred the attack upon the lines until next morning, and the whole British army lay through the night upon their arms, in face of the American encampment. General WASHINGTON spent the time in making preparation for the expected assault; he drew his right wing back into stronger ground, and strengthened his left in its former position. The succeeding day the cautious Howe again reconnoitred the American camp, and determined to suspend the attack until the arrival of a reinforcement from the city. This additional force reached him on the afternoon of the 30th, and preparations were made for the attack; but a violent rain prevented the execution of the design.

Nov. 1. The movements of the enemy manifesting the design to turn the right flank of the Americans, and gain possession of the high ground in their rear, General WASHINGTON, having secured his heavy baggage and stores, at night withdrew his army from its present position, and form-

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ed it upon the heights of Newcastle, about five miles from the White Plains, and secured the bridge over Croton river.

General Howe deemed the new encampment too strong to be forced, and marched off his army to other operations.

Nov. 5. The immediate object of General Howe in leaving the White Plains, was to invest Forts Washington and Lee. The possession of these fortresses would secure the free navigation of the North river, and facilitate the invasion of New-Jersey. The American Commander conformed his movements to those of his enemy. He ordered all the troops raised on the west side of the Hudson to cross that river under the command of General Green, intending himself to cross as soon as the plans of General Howe should be more fully disclosed. General Lee remained with the troops raised east of the Hudson, who was ordered to join Green's division, whenever the enemy should enter New-Jersey. General WASHINGTON informing Congress of his new arrangements, observed, "I cannot indulge the idea that General Howe, supposing him to be going to New-York, means to close the campaign, and to sit down without attempting something more. I think it highly probable, and almost certain, that he will make a descent with a part of his troops into the Jerseys, and as soon as I am satisfied that the present manœuvre is real, and not a feint, I shall use all the means in my power to forward a part of our force to counteract his designs.

"I expect the enemy will bend their force against Fort Washington, and invest it immediately. From some advice, it is an object that will attract their earliest attention."

He wrote to Governour Livingston, informing him of the movements of the enemy, and advising him to hold the militia in their full strength, in constant readi

ness to defend their country. He also urged him to remove or destroy the stock and provisions on the sea-coast, lest these should fall into the hands of the British. He directed General Green to keep his eye on Mount Washington, to send off from his division all stores not of immediate necessity, and to establish his magazines at Princeton, or some distant place of safety.

While the British forces were marching to King's bridge, three ships of war sailed up the Hudson, without injury from the American batteries, or from the obstructions that had been sunk in the channel of the river. This fact convinced the General, that it was inexpedient longer to attempt the defence of Mount Washington. He accordingly again wrote to

Nov. 8. General Green, "If we cannot prevent vessels from passing up, and the enemy are possessed of the surrounding country, what valuable purpose can it answer to attempt to hold a post, from which the expected benefit cannot be derived? I am, therefore, inclined to think it will not be prudent to hazard the men and stores at Mount Washington; but as you are on the spot, I leave it to you to give such orders respecting the evacuation of the place, as you may think most adviseable, and so far revoke the orders given Colonel Magaw to defend it to the last." In the presumption, that the works were too strong to be carried by storm, and that regular approaches by artillery would give opportunity to draw off the garrison, when their circumstances should become desperate, General Green did not carry these discretionary orders into effect. He was induced to this delay, that he might, as long as possible, retain the passage of the river, and prevent the depression, which the evacuation of an important post might produce on the army and on the country.

General Howe being in readiness for the

Nov. 15. assault, summoned the garrison to surrender. Colonel Magaw, the commanding officer, in

spirited language, replied, that he should defend his works to extremity. He immediately communicated the summons to General Green, and through him to the Commander in Chief, then at Hackensack. The General rode to Fort Lee, at which place he took boat, late at night, for Mount Washington; but, on the river, met Generals Putnam and Green returning from a visit to the garrison, who informed him that the men were in high spirits, and would make a brave defence, and he returned with them to Fort Lee.

On the succeeding morning the enemy made the assault in four separate divisions. The Hessians, commanded by General Knyphausen, moved down from King's bridge to attack the north side of the fort; they were gallantly opposed, and repeatedly repulsed by Colonel Rawlings's regiment of riflemen posted on a hill back of the works. Lord Percy, accompanied by General Howe, assaulted the works on the south. General Mathews crossed the North river, and landed within the *second* line of defence, while a considerable part of the garrison were in the *first*, fighting with Lord Percy. Colonel Cadwallader, the commander at this post, fearing an attack on his rear, retreated in confusion towards the fort; but the fourth British column crossing the North river at this moment, within the lines, intercepted a part of Cadwallader's troops, and made them prisoners. In the mean time, Knyphausen had overcome the obstinate resistance of Colonel Rawlings, and gained the summit of the hill. The whole garrison now entered the fort or retreated under its guns.

The enemy having surmounted the outworks, again summoned the garrison to surrender. His ammunition being nearly expended, and his force incompetent to repel the numbers which were ready on every side to assail him, Colonel Magaw surrendered himself and his garrison, consisting of two thousand men, prisoners of war. The enemy lost in the assault about eight

hundred men, mostly Germans. Soon after the second summons, General WASHINGTON found means to send a billet to Colonel Magaw, requesting him to defend himself until the evening, and he would take measures to bring him off; but the situation of the garrison was too desperate, and the negotiation had proceeded too far to make the attempt.

The conquest of Mount Washington made the evacuation of Fort Lee necessary. Orders were therefore issued to remove the ammunition and stores in it; but before much progress had been made in this business, Lord Cornwallis crossed the Hud-
Nov. 18. son with a number of battalions, with the intention to enclose the garrison between the Hackensack and North rivers. This movement made a precipitate retreat indispensable, which was happily effected with little loss of men; but a greater part of the artillery, stores, and baggage, was left for the enemy.

The loss at Mount Washington was heavy. The regiments captured in it were some of the best troops in the army. The tents, camp-kettles, and stores, lost at this place and at Fort Lee, could not during the campaign be replaced, and for the want of them the men suffered extremely. This loss was unnecessarily sustained. Those posts ought, unquestionably, to have been evacuated before General Howe was in a situation to invest them. When the British General gained possession of the country above those positions, they became in a great degree useless to the Americans. This opinion is clearly expressed in the letter of General WASHINGTON to General Green. The errour to be attributed to the Commander in Chief, consisted in submitting the measure of evacuation to the discretion of a subaltern officer, instead of absolutely directing it, in the exercise of powers vested in him. After the disastrous event had taken place, he possessed too much magnanimity to exculpate himself by criminating General Green.

The American force was daily diminished by the expiration of the soldiers' term of enlistment, and by the desertion of the militia.

When General Howe in force crossed into
Nov. 29. New-Jersey, General WASHINGTON posted the army under his immediate command, consisting of only three thousand men, along the Hackensack; but was unable seriously to oppose the enemy in *its* passage. The country behind him was level; he was without entrenching tools, and without tents; his troops were miserably clothed, and the season was becoming inclement. The firm mind of General WASHINGTON sunk not under these depressing circumstances. Although no bright prospect presented itself to his contemplation, yet he exerted himself to increase his effective force, and to make the best disposal of that under his direction. He ordered General Schuyler to send to his aid the troops, belonging to Pennsylvania and Jersey, which had been attached to the Northern army; but their term of service expired before they reached his encampment, and they brought him no effectual support. He ordered General Lee to cross the Hudson, and join him with those of his troops, whose time of service was not expiring; but General Lee loitered upon the East side of the river, and discovered an ardent inclination to retain a separate command in the rear of the enemy. WASHINGTON in repeated messages informed Lee, that his joining was of absolute necessity, that the people of Jersey expected security from the American army; and if disappointed, they would yield no support to a force, that did not protect them; and cautioned him to take his route so high in the country, as to avoid the danger of being intercepted by the enemy. These orders General Lee executed in a reluctant and tardy manner, and soon after he entered New-Jersey, carelessly taking his quarters for a night in a house three miles from his force, he was surprised and taken

prisoner by a detachment of British dragoons. General WASHINGTON also renewed his letters to Congress, and to the Executives of the neighbouring States, urging them to bring the whole strength of the militia into the field, to enable him to check the progress of the invading foe. To back these requests, he directed General Mifflin to repair to Philadelphia, General Armstrong to the interiour of Pennsylvania, and Colonel Reed, his Adjutant General, to the distant counties of New-Jersey. The known influence of these gentlemen in those places, united to the exertions of the constituted authorities, would, the General hoped, bring a powerful reinforcement to his army. All these efforts were for the present time ineffectual.

As General Howe advanced, the American army retreated towards the Delaware. It frequently happened, that the front guard of the British entered one end of a village, as the rear of the Americans quitted the other. Whenever it could be done with safety, General Washington made a stand, to show the semblance of an army, and to retard the progress of the enemy.

At Brunswick, Lord and General Howe, Commissioners, issued a proclamation, commanding all persons in arms against the King, peaceably to return to their homes, and all civil officers to desist from their treasonable practices; and offering a full pardon to all persons, who should in sixty days appear before appointed officers of the crown, and subscribe a declaration of their submission to royal authority.

This was the most gloomy period of the revo-
DEC. lutionary war. It was the crisis of the struggle of the United States for Independence. The American army, reduced in numbers, depressed by defeat, and exhausted by fatigue, naked, barefoot, and destitute of tents, and even of utensils, with which to dress their scanty provisions, was fleeing before a triumphant army, well appointed and abundantly sup-

plied. A general spirit of despondency through New-Jersey was the consequence of this disastrous state of publick affairs. No city or town indeed, in its corporate capacity submitted to the British government. A few characters of distinction maintained their political integrity; and nearly a thousand of the militia of the state bravely kept the field in defence of their country. But most of the families of fortune and influence, discovered an inclination to return to their allegiance to the king. Many of the yeomanry claimed the benefits of the Commissioners' proclamation; and the great body of them were too much taken up with the security of their families and their property, to make any exertion in the publick cause.

In this worst of times Congress stood unmoved. Their measures exhibited no symptoms of confusion or dismay, the publick danger only roused them to more vigorous exertions, that they might give a firmer tone to the publick mind, and animate the citizens of United America to a manly defence of their Independence.

Beneath this cloud of adversity, General WASHINGTON shone, perhaps with a brighter lustre, than in the day of his highest prosperity. Not dismayed by all the difficulties which encompassed him, he accommodated his measures to his situation, and still made the good of his country the object of his unwearied pursuit. He ever wore the countenance of composure and confidence; by his own example inspiring his little band with firmness to struggle with adverse fortune.

As the British advanced upon him, he retreated, and having previously broken down the bridges on the Jersey shore, he crossed the Delaware, and se-
DEC. 8. cured the boats upon the river for a distance of seventy miles. The van of the enemy appeared upon the left bank of the Delaware, while the rear of the American army was upon its passage.

After an unsuccessful attempt to procure boats to pass the Delaware, General Howe cantoned his army in New-Jersey, intending to wait until the frost of winter should furnish him with an easy passage upon the ice to Philadelphia. He stationed four thousand men along the Delaware at Trenton, Bordentown, the White Horse, and Burlington. And the residue of his force, he posted between the Delaware and the Hackensack.

General WASHINGTON ordered the American galleys to keep the river, narrowly to watch the enemy, and to give the earliest notice of their movements. He posted his troops upon the south side of the Delaware, in situations the most favourable to guard the fords and ferries; and he gave written instructions to the commanding officer of each detachment, directing what passes he should defend, if driven from his post, on his retreat to the heights of Germantown. While waiting for reinforcements he kept a steady eye on the enemy, and used every means in his power to gain correct information of their plans. This moment of inaction he also embraced, to lay before Congress his reiterated remonstrances against the fatal system of short enlistments. He hoped that experience, by its severe chastisement, would produce the conviction upon that body, which his arguments and persuasions had not fully effected.

DEC 20. He urged Congress to establish corps of cavalry, artillerists, and engineers, and pressed upon them the necessity of establishing additional regiments of infantry. He knew that objections to these measures would arise, on account of the expense, and from the consideration, that the old battalions were not yet filled; these he obviated by observing, that "more men would in this way on the whole be raised, and that our funds were not the only object now to be taken into consideration. We find," he added, "that the enemy are daily gather-

ing strength from the disaffected. This strength, like a snowball by rolling, will increase, unless some means can be devised to check, effectually, the progress of the enemy's arms: militia may possibly do it for a little while; but in a little while also, the militia of these states, which have frequently been called upon, will not turn out at call; or if they do, it will be with so much reluctance and sloth, as to amount to the same thing: instance New-Jersey! witness Pennsylvania! could any thing but the river Delaware have saved Philadelphia? could any thing (the exigency of the case indeed may justify it) be more destructive to the recruiting service, than giving ten dollars bounty, for six weeks' service of the militia, who come in, you cannot tell how, go, you cannot tell when, and act, you cannot tell where—consume your provisions, exhaust your stores, and leave you at last, at a critical moment. These are the men I am to depend upon ten days hence. This is the basis on which your cause will, and must for ever depend, till you get a large standing army, sufficient of itself to oppose the enemy."

With deference he suggested to Congress the expediency of enlarging his own powers, that he might execute important measures, without consulting with them, and possibly, by the delay, missing the favourable moment of action. "It may be said," he observed, "that this is an application for powers that are too dangerous to be entrusted. I can only add, that desperate diseases require desperate remedies, and with truth declare, that I have no lust after power, but wish with as much fervency as any man upon the wide extended continent, for an opportunity of turning the sword into a ploughshare. But my feelings as an officer and a man, have been such as to force me to say, that no person ever had a greater choice of difficulties to contend with than I have." Having recommended sundry other measures, and mentioned several ar-

rangements which he had adopted beyond the spirit of his commission, he concluded with the following observations.

"It may be thought that I am going a good deal out of the line of my duty to adopt these measures, or to advise thus freely. A character to lose, an estate to forfeit, the inestimable blessings of liberty at stake and a life devoted, must be my apology."

These weighty representations were not fruitless. Congress, by a resolution, invested their
DEC. 27. General with almost unlimited powers to manage the war.

The united exertions of civil and military officers had by this time brought a considerable body of militia into the field. General Sullivan too, on whom the command of General Lee's division devolved upon his capture, promptly obeyed the orders of the Commander in Chief, and at this period joined him; and General Heath was marching a detachment from Peck's Kill. The army, with these reinforcements, amounted to seven thousand men, and General WASHINGTON determined to recommence active operations.

General Maxwell had already been sent into New-Jersey, to take the command of three regiments of regular forces, and about eight hundred of the militia. His orders were to give the inhabitants all possible support, and to prevent the disaffected from going into the British lines to make their submission, to harass the marches of the enemy, and to give early intelligence of their movements, particularly of those towards Princeton and Trenton.

These measures were preparatory to more enterprising and bold operations. General WASHINGTON had noticed the loose and uncovered state of the winter quarters of the British army; and he contemplated the preservation of Philadelphia, and the recovery of New-Jersey, by sweeping, at one stroke, all the British

cantonments upon the Delaware. The present position of his forces favoured the execution of his plan.

The troops under the immediate command of General Washington, consisting of about two thousand and four hundred men, were ordered to cross the river at M'Konkey's ferry, nine miles above Trenton, to attack that post. General Irvine was directed to cross with his division at Trenton ferry, to secure the bridge below the town, and prevent the retreat of the enemy that way. General Cadwallader received orders to pass the river at Bristol ferry, and assault the post at Burlington. The night of the twenty-fifth was assigned for the execution of this daring scheme. It proved to be severely cold, and so much ice was made in the river, that General Irvine and General Cadwallader, after having strenuously exerted themselves, found it impracticable to pass their divisions, and *their* part of the plan totally failed.

The Commander in Chief was more fortunate. With difficulty he crossed the river, but was delayed in point of time. He expected to have reached Trenton at the dawn of day, and it was three o'clock in the morning before he had passed the troops and artillery over the river, and four before he commenced his line of march. Being now distant nine miles from the British encampment, the attempt to surprise it was given up. He formed his little army into two divisions, one of which was directed to proceed by the river road into the west end of Trenton, and the other by the Pennington road which leads into the north end of the town. The distance being equal, the General supposed that each division would arrive at the scene of action about the same time; and therefore he ordered each to attack the moment of its arrival, and driving in the piquet guard, to press after it into the town. The General accompanying the division on the Pennington road, reached the outpost of the

enemy precisely at eight o'clock, and in three minutes after, had the satisfaction to hear the firing of his men on the other road.

The brave Colonel Rawle, the commanding officer, paraded his forces for the defence of his post. He was by the first fire mortally wounded, and his men in apparent dismay, attempted to file off towards Princeton. General WASHINGTON perceiving their intention, moved a part of his troops into this road in their front, and defeated the design. Their artillery being seized, and the Americans pressing upon them, they surrendered. Twenty of the Germans were killed, and one thousand made prisoners. By the failure of General Irvine, a small body of the enemy stationed in the lower part of the town escaped over the bridge to Bordenton. Of the American troops, two privates were killed, and two frozen to death, one officer and three or four privates were wounded.

Could the other divisions have crossed the Delaware, General WASHINGTON's plan in its full extent would probably have succeeded. Not thinking it prudent to hazard the fruits of this gallant stroke by more daring attempts, the General the same day, recrossed the Delaware with his prisoners, with six pieces of artillery, a thousand stand of arms, and some military stores.

General Howe was astonished at this display of enterprise and vigour. He found the American Commander, a formidable enemy under circumstances of the greatest depression, and although in the depth of winter, determined to recommence active operations. In pursuance of this resolution, he called in his outposts and assembled a powerful force at Princeton.

Having allowed his men two or three days' rest, General WASHINGTON again passed into New-Jersey, and concentrated his forces, amounting to five thousand, at Trenton. He pushed a small detachment to

Maidenhead, about half way between Trenton and Princeton, to watch the movement of the enemy, and delay their march, should they advance upon him

JAN. 2, 1777. On the next morning, Lord Cornwallis moved towards the American General with a superiour force, and reached Trenton at four o'clock of the afternoon. General WASHINGTON drew up his men behind Assumpinck creek, which runs through the town. A cannonade was opened on both sides. His Lordship attempted at several places to cross the creek; but finding the passes guarded, he halted his troops, and kindled his fires.

Early in the evening General WASHINGTON assembled his officers in Council, and stated to them the critical situation of the army. "In the morning," he observed, "we certainly shall be attacked by a superiour force, defeat must operate our absolute destruction, a retreat across the Delaware is extremely hazardous, if practicable, on account of the ice. In either case, the advantages of our late success will be sacrificed. New-Jersey must again be resigned to the enemy, and a train of depressing and disastrous consequences will ensue." He then proposed to their consideration the expediency of the following measure. "Shall we silently quit our present position, by a circuitous route, gain the rear of the enemy at Princeton, and there avail ourselves of favourable circumstances? By this measure we shall avoid the appearance of a retreat, we shall assume the aspect of vigorous operation, inspirit the publick mind, and subserve the interests of our country."

The plan was unanimously approved, and measures were instantly adopted for its execution; the baggage was silently removed to Burlington; the fires were renewed, and ordered to be kept up through the night; guards were posted at the bridge and fords of the creek, and directed to go the usual rounds. At one o'clock at night, the army moved upon the left flank

of the enemy, and unperceived gained their rear. The weather, which for several days had been warm, suddenly changed to a severe frost; and the roads, which had been deep and muddy, immediately became hard, and marching upon them, easy.

About sunrise the American van met the advance of three British regiments, which had the preceding night encamped at Princeton, and were on their way to join Lord Cornwallis. A severe skirmish took place between this advanced corps and General Mercer, who commanded the militia in front of the American line. The militia at length gave way, and in the effort to rally them, General Mercer was mortally wounded. General WASHINGTON advanced at the head of those troops which had signalized themselves at Trenton, and exposed himself to the hottest fire of the enemy. His men bravely supported him, and the British in their turn were repulsed, and the different regiments separated. That in the rear, retreated with little loss to Brunswick. Colonel Mawhood in the van, with a part of his men, forced his way through the Americans, and reached Trenton. More than a hundred of the British were left on the field of battle, and three hundred of them were made prisoners. Besides General Mercer, whose death was greatly lamented, the Americans in this action lost two Colonels, two Captains, five other officers, and nearly a hundred privates.

On the return of day, Lord Cornwallis found that he had been out-generalled. Comprehending the design of WASHINGTON, he broke up his encampment, and with the utmost expedition retraced his steps, for the preservation of the stores in his rear; and he was close upon the Americans, as they marched out of Princeton.

It had been the intention of General WASHINGTON to proceed to Brunswick, where the British had large magazines, and where was their military chest, which

at this time, as it afterwards appeared, contained seventy thousand pounds sterling. But many of his soldiers had not slept for forty-eight hours, none of them for the last twenty-four, and they were exhausted by excessive duty. They were closely pursued by a superiour force, which must be up with them before the stores at Brunswick could be destroyed, should they meet with serious opposition at that place. General WASHINGTON therefore relinquished this part of his plan, and prudently led his army to a place of security, to give them the rest which they greatly needed.

The successes of the American arms at Trenton, and at Princeton, were followed by important consequences. The affairs of the United States, before these events, appeared to be desperate. Two thousand of the regular troops had a right, on the first of January, to demand their discharge. The recruiting service was at an end, and general despondency prevailed. The triumphs of the British through the previous parts of the campaign produced a common apprehension, in the citizens of the middle states, that any further struggle would be useless; and that America must eventually return to her allegiance to Great Britain. Many individuals made their peace with the Commissioners, and took protection from the officers of the crown; and more discovered the inclination to do it, when opportunity should present. General Howe supposed New-Jersey restored to the British government, and thought the war drawing to a close. But these successes were considered as great victories, and produced consequent effects upon the publick mind. The character of the Commander in Chief proportionably rose in the estimation of the great mass of American people, who now respected themselves, and confided in their persevering efforts to secure the great object of contention, the independence of their country.

Other causes had a powerful operation upon the minds of the yeomanry of New-Jersey. The British commanders tolerated, or at least neglected to restrain, gross licentiousness in their army. The inhabitants of the state, which they boasted was restored to the bosom of the parent country, were treated not as reclaimed friends, but as conquered enemies. The soldiery were guilty of every species of rapine, and with little discrimination between those who had opposed or supported the measures of Britain. The abuse was not limited to the plundering of property. Every indignity was offered to the persons of the inhabitants, not excepting those outrages to the female sex, which are felt by ingenuous minds with the keenest anguish, and excite noble spirits to desperate resistance. These aggravated abuses roused the people of New-Jersey to repel that army, to which they had voluntarily submitted, in the expectation of protection and security. At the dawn of success upon the American arms, they rose in small bands to oppose their invaders. They scoured the country, cut off every soldier who straggled from his corps; and in many instances repelled the foraging parties of the enemy.

The enterprising manœuvres of the American General, and the returning spirit of the Jersey yeomanry, rendered General Howe, now Sir William, very cautious and circumspect. He contracted his cantonments for winter quarters, and concentrated his force in New-Jersey, at Brunswick, and Amboy.

By this time, the period of service of the Continental battalions had expired, and the recruits for the new army were not yet in camp. Offensive operations, therefore, were of necessity suspended by the American General; but, with the small force at his disposal, he straitened the enemy's quarters, and circumscribed their foraging excursions.

At Christmas the power of the British was extended over the whole of New-Jersey, and their command

ers boasted, that a corporal's guard might in safety parade in every part of the province. Before the expiration of January, they possessed but two posts in the state, and these were in the neighbourhood of their shipping. The power of their arms extended not beyond the reach of the guns of their fortifications. Every load of forage, and every pound of provision, obtained from the inhabitants, was procured by the bayonets of large detachments, and at the price of blood.

CHAPTER IV.

General Washington disposes his small force for the protection of New-Jersey—Army Inoculated—Abuse of American prisoners—The Exchange of General Lee refused—Stores at Peck's Kill and Danbury destroyed—American Army takes post at Middlebrook—Sir William Howe moves towards the Delaware—Returns to Staten Island and embarks his troops—He lands at the Head of Elk—General Washington marches to meet him—Battle of Brandywine—Effects of a Storm—British take possession of Philadelphia—Mud Island and Red Bank fortified—Obstructions in the River—Attack on Mud Island—Count Donop defeated—British surmount the Fortifications of the River—Plan to attack Philadelphia—Sir William Howe reconnoitres the American camp at White Marsh—The Army posted at Valley Forge—The privations of the Soldiers during the winter.

1777. GENERAL WASHINGTON indulged the hope that the brilliant success, at the close of the last campaign, would stimulate his country to bring a force into the field, which would enable him in the course of the winter, to drive the enemy into New-York, to straiten their quarters and prevent their obtaining any supplies from the neighbouring counties. Being disappointed in this hope, he disposed his small force in the best manner to protect New-Jersey, and exerted himself to prepare for the approaching season of action.

The most popular officers were sent into the states in which they had the greatest influence, to aid the recruiting service, and to push the recruits forward to camp, in small bodies, as they could be made ready.

The army having suffered extremely from the small pox, the General resolved that they should be relieved from the scourge and terrour of this disease. Orders were accordingly given secretly to inoculate the continental soldiers in their winter quarters; and places were assigned at which the recruits were to go through the operation, as they successively approached the camp. The measure was attended with success, and Sir William did not avail himself of the temporary debility of the American army.

Congress had also admitted the expectation of splendid events during the winter. In answer to a letter, expressing this expectation, the Commander in Chief gave the following account of the state of his army.

MARCH 4. "Could I accomplish the important object, so eagerly wished by Congress, confining the enemy in their present quarters, preventing their gathering supplies from the country, and totally subduing them before they are reinforced, I should be happy indeed. But what prospect, or hope, can there be, of my effecting so desirable a work at this time? The enclosed return, to which I solicit the most serious attention of Congress, comprehends the whole force I have in the Jersey. It is but a handful, and bears no proportion, in the scale of numbers to that of the enemy. Added to this, the major part is made up of militia. The most sanguine in speculation, cannot deem it more than adequate to the least valuable purposes of war." The whole number, capable of duty was short of three thousand. Two thirds of these were militia, whose time of service would expire with the month.

During the winter General Spencer planned an expedition against the British troops on Rhode-Island. The Commander in Chief advised that the attempt should not be made, without the strongest probability of success. The scheme was relinquished, and the General fully expressed his approbation of it. "It is

right not to risk a miscarriage. Until we get our new army properly established, it is our business to play a certain game, and not to depend on the militia for any thing capital." The weakness of General WASHINGTON was concealed from his friends and from his foes, and he was not molested at head quarters by Sir William Howe.

The remonstrances of the commander in Chief upon the state of the army, had in some degree produced their effect upon Congress. The corps of artillerists was increased to three regiments, and the command of it given to Colonel Knox, who at this time was promoted to be a Brigadier General. A resolution also passed Congress, to raise three thousand cavalry; and General WASHINGTON was empowered to establish a corps of engineers. Few, if any, native Americans having been systematically educated to this branch of war, the corps was principally formed of foreigners, and General Du Portail, an officer of distinguished merit, was placed at its head.

The arrangement of the army gave the Commander in Chief inconceivable trouble. Congress, as the head of the Union regulated the general military system; but the governments of the several states were in their respective departments sovereign. Indeed the separate states only possessed coercive power. These raised their proportion of troops, and their agency was blended with that of Congress in clothing and supporting the men. The state regulations respecting bounty and pay were different, and occasioned jealousies in the army, vexatious to the General, and destructive of subordination and discipline. The states which conceived themselves exposed to the invasion of the enemy, discovered an inclination to direct a part of the general force to their security, or to raise state battalions for their defence, and to be at their disposal. General WASHINGTON, in his correspondence with Congress, and with the state governments, repre-

sented the evils that must ensue, should any discrimination of pay or treatment be made among soldiers of the same army. He also stated, that if the force of the country should be placed under different heads, sufficient strength could not be collected to defend any one point; and while the general defence was weakened, it would be impossible, by any disposition of the army, to prevent the partial depredations of the enemy. These embarrassments were happily overruled by the personal influence of the General; and before the campaign opened, the arrangements of the army were brought into order and method.

The treatment of American prisoners by the British commanders was another source of vexation and difficulty. At the commencement of hostilities, General Gage did not view the Americans as a community contending for their constitutional rights, but as the revolted subjects of his royal master, and the unhappy men, whom the fortune of war placed in his hands, he, without regard to military rank, confined in prison as rebels, with common felons. Against a practice militating with common usage, and calculated to increase the miseries of war, General WASHINGTON forcibly remonstrated. In a letter to General Gage, he mentioned, that in his apprehension, the obligations of humanity, and the claims of rank are universally binding, except in the case of retaliation. He expressed "the hope he had entertained, that they would have induced, on the part of the British General, a conduct more conformable to the rights they gave. While he claimed the benefits of these rights, he declared his determination to be regulated entirely in his conduct towards the prisoners who should fall into his hands, by the treatment which those in the power of the British General should receive." To this letter a very haughty and insolent answer was given, in which General Gage retorted the charge of abuse towards prisoners, and stated, as a mark of British cle-

mency, that the cord was not applied to those of whose imprisonment complaint was made. To this abusive communication, General WASHINGTON replied in a manner worthy his character, and which reply, he observed, was "to close their correspondence, perhaps for ever." He concluded with saying, "if your officers, our prisoners, receive from me a treatment different from what I wished to show them, they and you will remember the occasion of it." Accordingly all the British officers in his power were put into close jail, and the soldiers were confined in places of security. Directions were particularly given to subaltern agents, to explain to the sufferers the causes which led to this severity of treatment.

When Howe succeeded to the command of the British army, he admitted American officers to their parole, and consented to an exchange of prisoners; and General WASHINGTON gladly resumed his former humane treatment of captives.

The capture of General Lee furnished another cause of irritation on this subject. He had been a British officer, and had engaged in the American service before the acceptance of the resignation of his commission. Sir William Howe for this reason pretended to view him as a traitor, and at first refused to admit him to his parole, or to consider him as a subject of exchange. Congress directed the Commander in Chief to propose to Sir William Howe to exchange six field officers for General Lee. In case the proposal was rejected, that body resolved, that these officers should be closely confined, and in every respect receive the treatment that General Lee did. The proposition not being acceded to, the resolution of Congress was carried into effect, by the Executives of the States, in whose custody the selected field officers were, with a degree of severity which the treatment of General Lee did not warrant.

The general plan of retaliation, adopted by Congress

for abuses offered to Americans in the power of the British, the sound judgment of General WASHINGTON conceived to be unjust and impolitick, and his humane heart recoiled at its execution. Some of the resolutions of that honourable body, on this subject, he thought exposed his own honour to impeachment by Sir William Howe. Against those resolutions, he pointedly remonstrated, and detailed the evils they were calculated to produce to the nation, and to the Americans, prisoners with the British. His representations through a long period, had not their due effect but eventually Congress was constrained to adopt the measures he recommended.

Resolving never himself to aggravate the miseries of war, by wanton deeds of cruelty, General WASHINGTON was disposed to adopt and execute those laws of retaliation, which would constrain the enemy to conduct their military operations in the spirit of humanity. Repeated and heavy complaints were made of the cruel treatment which the American prisoners received in New-York; and the sickly and debilitated state of those, who were sent out to be exchanged, confirmed the truth of the charge. Many of them fainted and died before they reached head quarters. General Howe demanded that all prisoners, delivered at the lines to an American officer, should be accounted for in the cartel, and British soldiers returned to the full amount. General WASHINGTON absolutely refused to reckon those who died on their way to the American camp; and he unweariedly exerted himself to correct the abuse to American prisoners. In the beginning of April this year, he wrote Sir William Howe, "It is a fact not to be questioned, that the usage of our prisoners while in your possession, the privates at least, was such as could not be justified. This was proclaimed by the concurrent testimony of all who came out, their appearance sanctified the assertion, and melancholy experience, in the speedy death of a large

part of them, stamped it with infallible certainty." These measures induced the enemy to a more humane treatment of their prisoners; but disputes on the subject prevented the establishment of a regular cartel until a late period of the war.

In March the enemy sent out two detachments to destroy the American stores at Peck's Kill on the North River, and at Danbury in Connecticut. Both succeeded in their attempt; and although the stores destroyed did not equal in quantity the report on which the expeditions were planned, yet their loss was sensibly felt by the Americans in the active season of the campaign.

In the near approach of active operations, Congress resolved that a camp should be formed on the western side of Philadelphia. General WASHINGTON had already adopted his plan for the campaign, and requested that this camp, if formed, should consist wholly of militia. In the expectation that Sir William Howe would either attempt to gain possession of the High lands on North river, and co-operate with General Burgoyne from Canada; or renew the plan of the last campaign, to march through New-Jersey for Philadelphia, the General determined to post his army upon the strong ground in New-Jersey, north of the road through Brunswick, to Philadelphia. In this position he might protect Philadelphia, and a great part of New-Jersey. The situation was also favourable to defend the passes and forts on the North river. To this post he wished to collect a force sufficient to repel an assault from General Howe. In the location of his army, the General had another object of magnitude upon his mind. "In his opinion it was uncertain whether General Burgoyne would by sea join Sir William Howe, or retaining a separate command, attempt the conquest of Ticonderoga, and an impression upon the Hudson. Which of these measures would be pursued, he could not determine, until the plans of

the enemy were unfolded. To guard against both, he ordered the troops raised north of the Hudson to be divided between Ticonderoga and Peck's Kill, and those south including North-Carolina to be stationed in New-Jersey. The troops of South-Carolina and Georgia were left for their own defence. By this disposition of his forces, the General was in a situation to reinforce Ticonderoga from Peck's Kill, should Burgoyne attack that post, or reinforce his own army from those posts, should Burgoyne join Sir William Howe.

In pursuance of this plan, on the last of May, the winter encampment at Morristown was broken up, and a camp formed at Middlebrook, about ten miles from Brunswick. The position naturally strong, was strengthened by entrenchments. The weak state of the American army required for its safety every advantage of ground, as well as the utmost caution of the General. On the 20th of May, the troops in New Jersey, exclusive of cavalry and artillery, amounted only to eight thousand three hundred and seventy-eight men, of whom more than two thousand were sick. The troops of North-Carolina had not then joined the army, and about five hundred of the militia of Jersey were not included in the estimate. This force was in numbers much inferiour to the army commanded by Sir William Howe, and many of the Americans were recruits, who had never faced an enemy.

Sir William having collected his force at Brunswick, about the middle of June, marched in two columns towards the Delaware. By this movement, he expected to induce General WASHINGTON to quit his fortified camp to oppose the enemy's passage of the river, and that a general engagement would, in consequence, take place on ground favourable to the British commander. General WASHINGTON was not ensnared by this stratagem. In a letter written at the moment, his apprehensions of this manœuvre are thus conveyed. "The views of the enemy must be to destroy this ar

my and get possession of Philadelphia. I am, however, clearly of opinion that they will not move that way, until they have endeavoured to give a severe blow to this army. The risk would be too great to attempt to cross a river; when they must expect to meet a formidable opposition in front, and would have such a force as ours in the rear. They might possibly be successful, but the probability would be infinitely against them. Should they be imprudent enough to make the attempt, I shall keep close upon their heels, and will do every thing in my power to make the project fatal to them."

"But besides the argument in favour of their intending, in the first place, a stroke at this army, drawn from the policy of the measure, every appearance contributes to confirm the opinion. Had their design been for the Delaware, in the first instance, they would probably have made a secret, rapid march for it, and not have halted so as to awaken our attention, and give us time to prepare for obstructing them. Instead of that, they have only advanced to a position necessary to facilitate an attack on our right, the part in which we are most exposed. In addition to this circumstance, they have come out as light as possible; leaving all their baggage, provisions, boats, and bridges at Brunswick. This plainly contradicts the idea of their intending to push for the Delaware."

When the British army was collected at Brunswick, General WASHINGTON knowing that the High lands on the Hudson were not exposed, while the enemy held that position, ordered a large detachment from Peck's Kill to Middlebrook, and he determined to defend himself in this post.

Finding that his opponent could not be manœuvred out of his fortified camp, the British commander drew back his troops to Staten Island, with the design to embark them for the Delaware or the Chesapeak.

While these manœuvres were displaying in New

Jersey, intelligence was received, that General Burgoyne, with a powerful body of troops, was on the Lakes, approaching Ticonderoga. General WASHINGTON immediately forwarded large reinforcements to the Northern army.

Soon after the British transports sailed out of the harbour of New-York, an intercepted letter from General Howe to General Burgoyne was put into the hands of the Commander in Chief, which contained the information that, "He was exhibiting the appearance of moving to the Southward, while his real intent was against Boston, from whence he would co-operate with the army of Canada." General WASHINGTON viewing this letter as a finesse, paid no regard to it.

The policy of co-operating on the North river with the army of Canada, was so evident to the military mind of the General, that he conceived the movement of Howe to be a feint, designed to draw away the American army, that the British forces might suddenly ascend the Hudson, and seize the passes in the mountains, he therefore moved his troops to the neighbourhood of those heights, and there waited the issue of Sir William's manœuvre.

When the apprehension of a sudden attack upon the American works on the North river, was removed by the length of time Sir William Howe had been at sea, General Washington marched his army by divisions to places which he thought the most favourable to defend points the enemy might attack.

While waiting the evolution of the enemy's plan of the campaign, General WASHINGTON surveyed the ground in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, that he might be thoroughly acquainted with the probable scene of approaching military operations. On a critical examination of the fortifications on the Delaware, he advised Congress to confine the defence of the river to Mud Island and Red Bank, because the force for de-

fence, collected at these points, would produce more effect, than it could, divided upon different parts of the river.

The American army remained quietly in its position until the 21st of August. By this time General WASHINGTON apprehended that General Howe had proceeded to Charleston, South-Carolina, and he knew that the attempt to follow him to that place would be useless. He therefore resolved to move his army to the North river, to assail the enemy at New-York, or to join the northern army and oppose Burgoyne. But on the very day on which orders to this purpose were issued, intelligence reached him that Sir William had entered the Chesapeak, and was approaching its head. He had spent more than twenty days in his passage, and on the 25th of August, landed without opposition at Turkey Point, in Maryland. His force amounted to eighteen thousand men, abundantly furnished with every article of warfare.

As soon as General WASHINGTON was apprized of the destination of the British General, he put his army in motion to meet him. He marched through Philadelphia, that a sight of his forces might make impressions on the minds of those citizens, who were hostile to the American cause. The effective force of General Washington did not exceed eleven thousand men. The militia, on this occasion, turned out in considerable numbers, but the want of arms rendered the services of many of them useless.

On the 3d of September, the hostile armies approached each other. General WASHINGTON, not being in force to contend with his foe in the open field, could only harass his line of march, with light troops and cavalry, and pick up stragglers from his camp. As the Royal troops advanced, Sir William manœuvred to gain the right wing of the American army. General WASHINGTON, to counteract his design, continued

to fall back, until he crossed the Brandywine river at Chadd's ford. Here he made a stand to dispute its passage by the British.

The opinion of Congress, and the general sentiment of the country, imposed on the General the necessity of hazarding a general action at this place, for the defence of Philadelphia.

SEPT. 11. Early in the morning, information was brought to the Commander in Chief, that the British army was advancing in the road to Chadd's ford, and he immediately prepared to dispute the passage of the river. By ten o'clock the light troops were driven over the river to the main body of the American army, and it was every moment expected that the German General Knyphausen would attempt to force a passage. About noon, intelligence was communicated to the General, that a large column of the enemy, with a number of field pieces, had marched up the country, and fallen into the road which crosses the Brandywine above its forks.

Satisfied of the correctness of this intelligence, he detached the right wing of his army to attack the left of this column, as it marched down the north side of the Brandywine, intending himself, with the centre and left wing, to recross the river, and attack the division of the enemy at Chadd's ford. While issuing orders for the execution of this daring plan, the first intelligence was contradicted, and the general was informed, that the movement of the column towards the forks was a feint, and that instead of crossing the river at that place, it had rejoined the German troops at Chadd's ford. Under the uncertainty, which this contradictory intelligence produced, the General prudently relinquished his design.

About two o'clock it was ascertained, that Sir William Howe in person had crossed the Brandywine at the forks, and was rapidly marching down the North side of the river, to attack the American army. The

Commander in Chief, now ordered General Sullivan to form the right wing to oppose the column of Sir William. General Wayne was directed to remain at Chadd's ford with the left wing, to dispute the passage of the river with Knyphausen. General Green, with his division, was posted as a reserve in the centre between Sullivan and Wayne, to reinforce either, as circumstances might require. General Sullivan marched up the river, until he found favourable ground, on which to form his men; his left was near the Brandywine, and both flanks were covered with thick wood. At half past four o'clock, when his line was scarcely formed, the British, under Lord Cornwallis, commenced a spirited attack. The action was for some time severe; but the American right, which was not properly in order when the assault began, at length gave way, and exposed the flank of the troops that maintain their ground, to a destructive fire, and continuing to break from the right, the whole line finally gave way.

As soon as the firing began, General WASHINGTON, with General Green's division, hastened towards the scene of action, but before his arrival, Sullivan was routed, and the Commander in Chief could only check the pursuit of the enemy, and covered the retreat of the beaten troops.

During these transactions General Knyphausen assaulted the works erected for the defence of Chadd's ford, and soon carried them. General Wayne, by this time learning the fate of the other divisions, drew off his troops. General WASHINGTON retreated, with his whole force that night to Chester. The American loss in this battle was about three hundred killed, and six hundred wounded. Four hundred were made prisoners, but these chiefly of the wounded.

Many of the regiments of infantry, and the whole corps of artillery, on this occasion, exhibited the firmness and persevering courage that would have honoured veteran troops. A few corps gave way as soon as

pressed by the enemy, and their deficiency exposed those who bravely did their duty. General Howe stated his loss, in this action, at one hundred killed and four hundred wounded. In this battle, Marquis La Fayette, who had recently joined the American army was wounded.

The defeat of Brandywine produced no depression of spirits upon Congress, the army, or the country. Measures were immediately taken to reinforce the army. Fifteen hundred men were marched from Peck's Kill, and large detachments of militia ordered into the field. The Commander in Chief was empowered to impress all horses, wagons, and provisions, necessary for the army. In orders, the general expressed his his high satisfaction at the behaviour of the body of his army in the late engagement. Having allowed his troops a short repose, he faced about to meet the enemy, fully resolved to try his fortune in a general action, before he resigned Philadelphia to the Royal commander.

SEPT. 15. General WASHINGTON, perceiving that the enemy were moving into the Lancaster road, towards the city, took possession of ground near the Warren tavern, on the left of the British, and twenty-three miles from Philadelphia. The protection of his stores at Reading was one object of this movement. The next morning he was informed of the approach of the British army. He immediately put his troops in motion to engage the enemy. The advance of the two hostile armies met and began to skirmish, when rain fell, and soon increased to a violent storm. This providentially prevented a general engagement, and rendered the retreat of the Americans absolutely necessary. The inferiority of the muskets in the hands of the American soldiery, which had been verified in every action, was strikingly illustrated in this retreat. The gun locks were badly made, and the cartridge boxes imperfectly constructed·

and this storm rendered most of the arms unfit for use; and all the ammunition was damaged. The army was of consequence extremely exposed, and their danger became the greater, as many of the soldiers were destitute of bayonets. Fortunately the tempest, which produced such serious mischief to the Americans, prevented the pursuit of the British.

General WASHINGTON, finding his troops unfitted for action, relinquished, from necessity, the immediate intention of a battle, and continued his retreat through the day, and most of the night, amidst a cold and tempestuous rain, and in very deep roads. On a full discovery of the extent of the damage to the arms and ammunition, the General ascended the Schuylkill, and crossed it at Warwick furnace, to obtain a fresh supply of ammunition, and to refit or replace the defective muskets. He still resolved to risk a general engagement, for the safety of the capital. He re-
SEPT. 19. crossed the Schuylkill at Parker's ferry, and encamped east of that river, on both sides of Parkyomy creek, and detachments were posted at the different fords, at which the enemy might attempt to force a passage. As the British army approached the river, General WASHINGTON posted his army in their front; but, instead of forcing a passage, Sir William moved rapidly up the road towards Reading. The American Commander, supposing that his object was to destroy the military stores at that place, and to turn the right flank of the American army, marched up the river to Pottsgrove, leaving the lower road to the city open to his antagonist. Sir William Howe availed himself of the opportunity, and on the 26th, entered Philadelphia in triumph.

General WASHINGTON had seasonably taken the precaution to remove the publick stores from the city, and to secure for the use of the army, those articles of merchandise, which their wants rendered of primary necessity. Colonel Hamilton, then one of General

Washington's aids, had been sent into the city on this important business. By his instructions he was directed to proceed in his requisitions upon the stores and shops of Philadelphia cautiously but effectually. "Your own prudence will point out the least exceptionable means to be pursued, but remember delicacy, and a strict adherence to the ordinary mode of application, must give place to our necessities. We must, if possible, accommodate the soldiers with such articles as they stand in need of; or we shall have just reason to apprehend the most injurious and alarming consequences from the approaching season."

From the landing of the British army at the head of the Elk, on the 25th of August, to the 26th of September, when they entered Philadelphia, the American troops had encountered a continued series of active operations, and the duty of the General was complicated and arduous. During this time, the soldiers were destitute of baggage, insufficiently supplied with provisions, and deprived of the comforts that administer to the support of the human frame under severe fatigue. Without covering, they were exposed to heavy rains, and obliged to march, many of them without shoes, in deep roads, and to ford considerable streams.

The best British writers, who have given us a history of the revolutionary war, highly applaud the generalship of Sir William Howe in this part of the campaign. Can they then withhold applause from the American Commander, who manœuvred an inferiour army in the face of the British General, and detained him thirty days, in marching sixty miles, from the head of Elk river to Philadelphia, in a country, in which there was not one fortified post, nor a stream that might not, at this season be every where forded; who fought one battle, and although beaten, in five days again faced his enemy with the intention to risk a general engagement; who, when in the moment of

cation, was providentially obliged to retreat, with muskets and ammunition unfit for use, extricated himself from his perilous situation and once more placed himself in front of the invading foe; who at last was induced to open the Philadelphia road to the British General, not because he was beaten in the field, but through the influence of circumstances, which no military address could counteract.

Four regiments of grenadiers were posted in Philadelphia, and the other corps of the British army were cantoned at Germantown. The first object of Sir William was to subdue the defences and remove the impediments of the Delaware, that a communication might be opened with the British shipping. General WASHINGTON made every effort to prevent the execution of the enemy's design, in the hope of forcing General Howe out of Philadelphia, by preventing supplies of provisions from reaching him. Of the attainment of this important object, he had no doubt, could the passage of the Delaware be rendered impracticable. To this purpose works had been erected on a bank of mud and sand in the river, near the confluence of the Schuylkill, and about seven miles below Philadelphia. The place, from these works, was denominated Fort Island, and the works themselves Fort Mifflin. On a neck of land on the opposite shore of New-Jersey, called Red Bank, a fort was constructed and mounted with heavy artillery, and called Fort Mercer. Fort Island and Red Bank, were distant from each other half a mile. In the channel of the Delaware, which ran between them, two ranges of Chevaux-de-frise were sunk. These consisted of large pieces of timber, strongly framed together, and pointed with iron, and they completely obstructed the passage of ships. These works were covered by several galleys, floating batteries, and armed ships.

Sir William Howe having detached a considerable force from Germantown to operate against the works

on the Delaware, General WASHINGTON thought this a favourable opportunity to attack the British army in their cantonments. The line of the British encampment crossed the village of Germantown at right angles, near its centre; and its flanks were strongly covered.

General WASHINGTON now commanded a force consisting of about eight thousand continental troops and three thousand militia. The General's plan was to attack both wings of the enemy in front, and rear at the same time. The arrangements having been made, the army was moved near the scene of action on the evening of the 4th of October. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's Brigade, were to enter Germantown by the way of Chestnut Hill, and attack the left wing of the British. General Armstrong with the Pennsylvania militia was ordered to fall down the Manatawny road, and turning the British left flank, attack its rear. The divisions of Green and Stephen, flanked by M'Dougal's Brigade, were to take a circuit by the way of Limekiln road, and entering at the market-house, attack the right wing. The militia of Maryland and New-Jersey, under General Smallwood and General Forman, were to march down the old York road, and fall upon the rear of the British right. The division of Lord Sterling, and the brigades of Nash and Maxwell were to form a corps de reserve.

OCT. 8. About sunrise the next morning, the front of General Sullivan's column, which the Commander in Chief accompanied, drove in the British piquet at Mount Airy. The main body of this division soon engaged the British light infantry and the fortieth regiment of foot, and obliged them to give way, leaving all their baggage behind. General Green in half an hour after Sullivan reached the ground of action, attacked and drove in the troops in front of the right wing of the enemy. Several brigades

of Sullivan's and of Green's divisions penetrated the town. The enemy appeared to be surprised, and a fair prospect of eventual success in the assault presented itself to the mind of the American General.

The flattering expectations, which the successful commencement of the enterprise excited, were soon succeeded by disappointment and mortification. As the British retreated before General Sullivan's division, Colonel Musgrave took post with six companies of light troops in a stone house, from which he severe severely galled the Americans in their advance. Attempts were made to dislodge him, but they proved ineffectual, and the American line was checked and thrown into disorder. The morning being extremely foggy, the Americans could neither perceive the situation of the enemy, nor take advantage of their own success. The ground to which some of the British corps was pursued had many enclosures, which broke the American line of march, and some of the regiments, in their ardour to push forward, separated from their brigades, were surrounded and taken prisoners In the moment of supposed victory, the troops retréat ed, and the efforts of their Generals to rally them, were fruitless. The militia were never seriously brought into action. General WASHINGTON, perceiving that victory had, on this occasion, eluded his grasp, contented himself with a safe and honourable retreat.

In this bold assault, two hundred Americans were killed, six hundred wounded, and four hundred taken prisoners. Among the killed was Brigadier General Nash. The British loss was one hundred killed and four hundred wounded. Among the killed were Brigadier Agnew and Colonel Bird. This enterprise, as far as the Commander in Chief was concerned in it, was honourable. Its ultimate failure must be attributed to the want of discipline and experience in his men Congress fully approved of the plan of this assault, and applauded the courage displayed in its execution

They voted their thanks to the General, and to the army.

The works in the Delaware now engaged the attention of the British and American Generals. Sir William Howe broke up his encampment at Germantown, and moved his whole army into Philadelphia. General WASHINGTON placed confidential garrisons in Fort Mercer at Red Bank, and in Fort Mifflin on Mud Island, but he had not a force equal to their complete defence. He appointed detachments to intercept the transportation of provisions from the British ships below the American works to Philadelphia. He called upon the government of New-Jersey to turn out the militia of that state, to form a camp in the rear of Red Bank; and he set patroles of militia on the roads leading to Philadelphia, both in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, to prevent the disaffected inhabitants from carrying their articles into the market of Philadelphia. To avail himself of any favourable opportunity to annoy the enemy, he moved his army to White Marsh, distant only fifteen miles from the city.

Lord Howe, by continued exertion, having overcome the obstructions which the Americans had placed in the river at Billingsport, a joint attack by sea and land was planned against Red Bank and Fort Island. The Augusta, a sixty-four gun ship, the Merlin frigate, and several small armed vessels moved up the Delaware to assault the works on Fort or Mud Island. Count Donop crossed into New-Jersey with twelve hundred Germans, and in the evening of the 22d appeared before Fort Mercer, on Red Bank. His assault was highly spirited, and the defence intrepid and obstinate Colonel Green the commandant, whose garrison did not exceed five hundred men, was unable to man the outworks. From these he galled the Germans in their advance, and on their near approach he quitted them, and retired within the inner intrenchments. The enemy

OCT. 22.

pressed forward with undaunted bravery, and the Americans poured upon them a deadly fire. Count Donop was himself mortally wounded at the head of his gallant corps; the second in command soon after fell, and the third immediately drew off his forces.

The assailants had four hundred men killed and wounded. The garrison fighting under cover, had only thirty killed and wounded. Had the camp of militia been formed in the rear of Red Bank, agreeably to General WASHINGTON'S desire, this whole corps would probably have been made prisoners.

In the mean time, Fort Mifflin was attacked by the shipping, and by batteries erected on the Pennsylvania shore. Incessant vollies of bombs and cannon balls were discharged upon it. But at ebb tide the Augusta and Merlin grounded, and were burnt. The garrison supported this tremendous fire without material injury.

The resistance of the forts on the Delaware far exceeding the expectations of the British commanders, they adopted measures to overcome it, without the hazard of a second assault. They erected batteries upon Province Island, within five hundred yards of the American fort. They also brought up their shipping, gun boats, &c. and from the 10th to the 16th of November, battered the American works. By this time the defences were entirely beaten down, every piece of cannon was dismounted, and one of the ships approached so near Fort Mifflin as to throw hand grenades from her tops into it, which killed men upon the platform. The brave garrison received orders to quit the post. Red Bank being no longer useful, its garrison and stores were also withdrawn on the approach of Lord Cornwallis with five thousand men to invest it.

While these transactions were going on, the enterprising spirit of the Commander in Chief was employed to explore an opening through which to attack his

adversary He clearly saw the importance of driving the British from Province Island; but fifteen hundred men, in the opinion of his general officers, were necessary to effect this object. This detachment could each the place of assault only by marching down a neck of land six miles in length almost in sight of the British General, who might easily cut off the retreat of the American detachment, unless it should be protected by a strong covering party. To furnish this party, General WASHINGTON must expose his army with all his stores and artillery to Sir William. Or, if he moved his whole army over the Schuylkill, all the magazines and hospitals in his rear, might without opposition be seized. Red Bank would also be exposed, through which reinforcements of men, and supplies of ammunition and provisions passed to Fort Island. He was therefore constrained to watch the progress of his enemy, without making efficient attempts to check him.

The fortifications of the Delaware being surmounted, the impediments in the channel of the river were, without great difficulty, removed. In six weeks of incessant effort, the British commanders gained the free navigation of the Delaware, and opened the communication between their fleet and army.

During the excursion of Lord Cornwallis into New-Jersey, with a design to invest Fort Mercer, General WASHINGTON was urged to attack Philadelphia. The wishes of Congress, and the expectation of the publick, gave weight to the proposed measure. The plan was, that General Green should silently fall down the Delaware, at a specified time, attack the rear of General Howe, and gain possession of the bridge over the Schuylkill; that a powerful force should march down on the west side of that river, and from the heights infilade the British works on that side, while the Commander in Chief, with the main body of the army, should attack fourteen redoubts, and the lines of the

enemy extending from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, which constituted their defence in front.

The sound mind of General WASHINGTON was not so much dazzled by a prospect of the brilliance and fame which the success of this enterprise would throw around himself, and his army, as to engage in the desperate attempt. Nor was he disposed to sacrifice the safety of his country, upon the altar of publick opinion. He gave the following reasons for rejecting the plan; that the army in Philadelphia was in number at least equal to his own; it could not reasonably be expected, that the several corps engaged, could co-operate in that joint and prompt manner, which was necessary to success; in all probability the movement of General Green could not be made in the face of a vigilant enemy without discovery, which was essential—if the several divisions were in the onset successful, the redoubts taken, the lines surmounted, and the British army driven within the city, the assault then must be extremely hazardous; an artillery superiour to their own, would be planted to play upon the front of the assailing columns, and the brick houses would be lined with a formidable infantry, to thin their flanks; a defeat, which, calculating upon the scale of probability must be expected, would ruin the army, and open the country to the depredation of the enemy; the hardy enterprises and stubborn conflicts of two campaigns, had given the British general only the command of two or three towns, protected in a great measure by the shipping, why then forego the advantage of confining the British army in narrow quarters, to place the stores in camp, and the very independence of America at risk upon this forlorn hope. The General was supported in his opinion by those officers in whose judgment he placed the most confidence, and he disregarded the clamours of ignorance and rashness.

On the 4th of December, Sir William Howe marched his whole army out of Philadelphia to White Marsh.

the encampment of General WASHINGTON. He took a position on Chestnut Hill in front of the American right wing. Mr. Stedman, a British historian, of the revolutionary war, who at this time was with Sir William, states his force at fourteen thousand men. The Continental troops at White Marsh amounted to about twelve thousand, and the militia to three. The ground of the Americans was strong, but no fortifications had been erected. Never before had General WASHINGTON met his enemy in this manner, with a superiority of numbers. He wished to be attacked, but was not disposed to relinquish the advantage of ground.

The British Commander spent the 6th in reconnoitring the American right. At night he marched to their left on the hill, which here approached nearer to their camp, and took a good position within a mile of it. The next day he advanced further to the American left, and in doing it approached still nearer this wing. General WASHINGTON made some changes in the disposition of his troops to oppose with a greater force the attack he confidently expected on his left. Momentarily expecting the assault, he rode through each brigade of the army, with perfect composure, giving his orders, animating his men to do their duty to their country, and exhorting them to depend principally on the bayonet. During these manœuvres, some sharp skirmishing took place. At evening the disposition of General Howe indicated the design to attack the next morning. The American Commander impatiently waited the assault, promising himself some compensation for the disasters of the campaign in the issue of this battle. But his hopes were disappointed. On the afternoon of the eighth, Sir William returned to Philadelphia, with such rapidity as not to be overtaken by the American light troops, which were sent out to harass his rear.

Sir William Howe moved out of Philadelphia with a professed design to attack General WASHINGTON

and to drive him over the mountain. He must have felt mortification in receding from this intention, and by it acknowledging in the face of the world, the respect he entertained for the military talents of his opponent, and proclaiming his reluctance to engage an American army of equal numbers, unless he could command the ground of action.

The American troops were badly clothed, and were generally destitute of blankets. The winter setting in with severity, it became necessary to lodge them in winter quarters. The General had revolved the subject in his mind, and weighed all its difficulties. Should he quarter his army in villages, his men would be exposed to the destructive enterprises of partisan British corps, and a large district of country would be opened to the forage of the enemy. To remedy these dangers and inconveniences, the General resolved to march his army to Valley Forge, a strong position back of Philadelphia, covered with wood, and there shelter them. On the march to the place, for the first time the disposition for the winter was announced. He applauded the past fortitude of the army, and exhorted them to bear their approaching hardships with the resolution of soldiers, assuring them that the publick good, and not his inclination, imposed them. The men bore their temporary sufferings with patience. They felled trees, and of logs built themselves huts, closing their crevices with mortar, and soon assumed the form and order of an encampment. Light troops were stationed around Philadelphia to straiten the enemy's quarters, and to cut off their communication with those of the country who were disposed to supply them with provision.

On the 22d. of December the Commissary announced the alarming fact, that the last rations in store had been served to the troops. A small number of the men discovered a disposition to mutiny at a privation for which they could not account, but in the criminal

inattention of their country; but the majority of the army submitted to the scarcity without a murmur. General WASHINGTON ordered the country to be scoured, and provisions to be seized wherever they could be found. At the same time he stated the situation of the army to Congress, and warned that body of the dangerous consequences of this mode of obtaining supplies. It was calculated he said, to ruin the discipline of the soldiers, and to raise in them a disposition for plunder and licentiousness. It must create in the minds of the inhabitants jealousy and dissatisfaction. "I regret the occasion which compelled me to the measure the other day, and shall consider it among the greatest of our misfortunes to be under the necessity of practising it again. I am now obliged to keep several parties from the army threshing grain, that our supplies may not fail, but this will not do."—During the whole winter, the sufferings of the troops at Valley Forge were extreme.

CHAPTER V.

Progress and Issue of the Northern Campaign—Plan to displace General Washington—His Correspondence on the Subject—Letter of General Gates—Remonstrance of the Legislature of Pennsylvania against closing the Campaign—Observations of the Commander in Chief upon it—Sufferings of the Army for the want of Provisions and Clothing—Measures adopted by the Commander in Chief to obtain Supplies—Methods taken to Recruit the Army—Sir Henry Clinton appointed Commander in Chief of the British Forces—He evacuates Philadelphia, and marches through New-Jersey to New-York—General Washington pursues him—Battle of Monmouth—Thanks of Congress to the General and Army—General Lee censured—He demands a Court Martial, and is suspended from his command—French Fleet appears on the American Coast—Expedition against Rhode-Island—It fails—Disaffection between the American and French Officers—Measures of the Commander in Chief to prevent the ill Consequences of it—Army goes into Winter Quarters in the High Lands.

1777. DURING these transactions in the middle States, the northern campaign had terminated in the capture of General Burgoyne and army. That de-

partment had ever been considered as a separate command, and more particularly under the direction of Congress. But the opinion of the Commander in Chief had been consulted in many of its transactions, and most of its details had passed through his hands. Through him that army had been supplied with the greater part of its artillery, ammunition, and provisions.

Upon the loss of Ticonderoga, and the disastrous events which followed it, he exerted himself to stop the career of General Burgoyne, although by this exertion, he weakened himself in his conflict with Sir William Howe. Without waiting for the order of Congress, in his own name he called out the militia of New-England, and directed General Lincoln to command them. Strong detachments were sent to the northward from his own army. General Arnold, who had already greatly distinguished himself in the field, was sent at the head of these reinforcements, in the expectation that his influence would do much to reanimate the northern forces and inspirit them to noble exertions. Soon after Colonel Morgan with his regiment, the best partisan corps in the American army, was also detached to that service. General WASHINGTON encouraged General Schuyler to look forward to brighter fortune. "The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence," said he, in a letter to that General, "is an event of chagrin and surprise, not apprehended, nor within the compass of my reasoning. This stroke is severe indeed, and has distressed us much. But notwithstanding things at present wear a dark and gloomy aspect, I hope a spirited opposition will check the progress of General Burgoyne's arms, and that the confidence derived from success will hurry him into measures, that will in their consequences be favourable to us. We should never despair. Our situation has before been unpromising, but has changed for the better, so I trust it

will again. If new difficulties arise, we must only put forth new exertions, and proportion our efforts to the exigency of the times." When informed by General Schuyler, that Burgoyne had divided his force to act in different quarters, General WASHINGTON foresaw the consequences, and advised to the measures that proved fatal to that commander. "Although our affairs," replied he to General Schuyler, "have some days past worn a dark and gloomy aspect, I yet look forward to a fortunate and happy issue. I trust General Burgoyne's army will sooner or later, experience an effectual check; and, as I suggested before, that the success he had will precipitate his ruin. From your account he appears to be pursuing that line of conduct, which of all others is most favourable to us; I mean acting by detachments. This conduct will certainly give room for enterprise on our part, and expose his parties to great hazard. Could we be so happy as to cut one of them off, though it should not exceed four, five, or six hundred men, it would inspirit the people, and do away much of their present anxiety. In such an event, they would lose sight of past misfortunes; and, urged at the same time by a regard to their own security, they would fly to arms and afford every aid in their power."

The community was not intimately acquainted with the state of things in the northern department. In consequence, strong prejudices were excited against General Schuyler. On account of this popular prejudice, Congress conceived it prudent to change the General of this army, and the Commander in Chief was requested to nominate a successor to General Schuyler. Through delicacy he declined this nomination; but never did the semblance of envy at the good fortune of General Gates, whom Congress appointed, appear in any part of General WASHINGTON's conduct. His patriotism induced him to aid this subordinate General by every means in his power, and

the successes of the northern army filled his heart with undissembled joy

This magnanimity was not in every instance repaid. The brilliant issue of the northern campaign in 1777, cast a glory around General Gates, and exalted his military reputation. During his separate command, some parts of his conduct did not correspond with the ingenuousness and delicacy with which he had been treated by the Commander in Chief. After the action of the 19th of September, when it was ascertained that General Gates's force was superiour to that of the British General, and was increasing, General WASHINGTON apprehended that General Gates might return him Colonel Morgan's corps, whose services he greatly needed while the enemy was marching through Pennsylvania. But unwilling absolutely to order the return of Morgan, he stated that General Howe was pressing him with a superiour force, and left General Gates to act in the concern according to his discretion. General Gates retained the corps, and mentioned as his reason, "Since the action of the 19th the enemy have kept the ground they occupied on the morning of that day and fortified their camp. The advance sentries of my piquets are posted within shot, and opposite those of the enemy. Neither side has given ground an inch. In this situation your Excellency would not wish me to part with the corps, the army of General Burgoyne is most afraid of." He neglected to inform the Commander in Chief of his subsequent successes over the enemy.

When the intelligence of the surrender of the British army reached head quarters, the Commander in Chief despatched Colonel Hamilton, one of his aids, to General Gates, to state his own critical situation, and make known his earnest wishes, that reinforcements should be forwarded to him with the utmost expedition. Colonel Hamilton found that General Gates had retained four Brigades at Albany with a design to attack Ticon-

deroga in the course of the next winter. With difficulty and delay he obtained an order to move three Brigades.

Colonel Hamilton was also charged with a similar message to General Putnam in the High Lands, and directed to accelerate the movement of reinforcements from that post. But General Putnam in view of an attempt upon New-York discovered a disposition to retain under his command that portion of the northern army which had been sent to the High Lands. Colonel Hamilton was obliged to borrow money of General Clinton, Governour of the state of New-York, to fit the troops of General Putnam to begin their march. These obstructions and delays in the execution of General WASHINGTON s orders, prevented his being reinforced in season to attack Lord Cornwallis, while in New-Jersey, and probably occasioned the loss of Fort Mifflin and Red Bank.

The different termination of the campaigns of 1777 at the North, and in the Middle states, furnished the ignorant and factious part of the community with an opportunity to clamour against the Commander in Chief. Their murmurs emboldened several members of Congress, and individual gentlemen in different parts of the United States, to adopt measures to supplant General WASHINGTON, and to raise General Gates to the supreme command of the American armies.

In the prosecution of this scheme, pieces artfully written, were published in Newspapers in different places, tending to lessen the military character of General WASHINGTON, and to prepare the publick for the contemplated change in the head of the military department. Generals Gates and Mifflin, and Brigadier Conway, entered into the intrigue. Conway was an Irishman, who had been in the service of France, and on the recommendation of Mr. Silas Deane was commissioned by Congress. The influence of the party in Congress opposed to General WASHINGTON, appears

by a number of the publick transactions of that body. A board of war was instituted and General Gates placed at its head, Conway was raised over every other Brigadier, and appointed inspector of the army.

These machinations to tarnish the character of the Commander in Chief were known to him, but he silently noticed their operation. The good of his country was with him paramount to all other considerations, and he stifled his just indignation and left his reputation to rest on his own merits, lest the open dissension of the civil and military ministers of the revolution should endanger the publick interest.

At length, the presumption of his enemies, forced him into an expression of his feelings on the subject. The following correspondences give a general view of the progress of their measures Mr. Lawrens, President of Congress, in a private letter communicated to the General information of an anonymous complaint laid before him, in his official capacity, containing high charges against General WASHINGTON, to which he replied:

"I cannot sufficiently express the obligation I feel towards you, for your friendship and politeness upon an occasion in which I am so deeply interested. I was not unapprized that a malignant faction had been for some time forming, to my prejudice, which, conscious as I am of having ever done all in my power to answer the important purposes of the trust reposed in me, could not but give me some pain on a personal account; but my chief concern arises from an apprehension of the dangerous consequences, which intestine dissensions may produce to the common cause.

"As I have no other view than to promote the publick good, and am unambitious of honours not founded on the approbation of my country, I would not desire in the least degree to suppress a free spirit of inquiry into any part of my conduct, that even faction itself may deem reprehensible. The anonymous paper

handed you, exhibits many serious charges, and it is my wish that it may be submitted to Congress. This I am more inclined to, as the suppression, or concealment, may possibly involve you in embarrassments hereafter, since it is uncertain how many, or who, may be privy to the contents.

"My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defence I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets, it is of the utmost moment to conceal. But why should I expect to be exempt from censure, the unfailing lot of an elevated station? Merit and talents, which I cannot pretend to rival, have ever been subject to it. My heart tells me it has been my unremitted aim to do the best, which circumstances would permit; yet I may have been very often mistaken in my judgment of the means, and may, in many instances, deserve the imputation of errour."

To a friend in New-England, who expressed by letter his anxiety in consequence of a report that he was about to resign his commission, he wrote:

"I can assure you that no person ever heard me drop an expression that had a tendency to resignation. The same principles that led me to embark in the opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain, operate with additional force at this day; nor is it my desire to withdraw my services while they are considered of importance in the present contest; but to report a design of this kind, is among the arts, which those who are endeavouring to effect a change, are practising to bring it to pass. I have said, and I still do say, that there is not an officer in the service of the United States, that would return to the sweets of domestick life with more heartfelt joy than I should. But I would have this declaration accompanied by

these sentiments, that while the publick are satisfied with my endeavours, I mean not to shrink from the cause: but the moment her voice, not that of faction, calls upon me to resign, I shall do it with as much pleasure as ever the wearied traveller retired to rest."

His friend Mr. Patrick Henry, then Governour of Virginia, informed him of the intrigues that were going on in his native state. To which he replied:

"The anonymous letter with which you were pleased to favour me, was written by ******** so far as I can judge from the similitude of hands.

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"My caution to avoid any thing that could injure the service, prevented me from communicating, except to a very few of my friends, the intrigues of a faction which I knew was formed against me, since it might serve to publish our internal dissensions, but their own restless zeal to advance their views has too clearly betrayed them, and made concealment on my part fruitless. I cannot precisely mark the extent of their views, but it appeared in general, that General Gates was to be exalted on the ruin of my reputation and influence. This I am authorized to say from undeniable facts in my possession, from publications the evident scope of which could not be mistaken, and from private detractions industriously circulated. **********, it is commonly supposed, bore the second part in the cabal; and General Conway, I know, was a very active and malignant partisan; but I have good reason to believe that their machinations have recoiled most sensibly upon themselves."

General Gates learning that a passage in a letter from Brigadier Conway to him had been communicated to the Commander in Chief, wrote the following letter, as extraordinary for the manner of its conveyance, as for the matter it contains.

"I shall not attempt to describe, what, as a private gentleman, I cannot help feeling, on representing to

my mind, the disagreeable situation, which confidential letters, when exposed to publick inspection, may place an unsuspecting correspondent in; but, as a publick officer, I conjure your Excellency to give me all the assistance you can, in tracing out the author of the infidelity, which put extracts from General Conway's letters to me into your hands. Those letters have been stealingly copied; but which of them, when, or by whom, is to me as yet an unfathomable secret.

"There is not one officer in my suite, or among those who have a free access to me, upon whom I could with the least justification to myself, fix the suspicion; and yet my uneasiness may deprive me of the usefulness of the worthiest men. It is, I believe, in your Excellency's power to do me, and the United States, a very important service, by detecting a wretch who may betray me, and capitally injure the very operations under your immediate direction. For this reason, sir, I beg your Excellency would favour me with the proofs you can procure to that effect. But the crime being eventually so important, that the least loss of time may be attended with the worst consequences; and it being unknown to me whether the letter came to you from a member of Congress, or from an officer, I shall have the honour of transmitting a copy of this to the President, that Congress may, in concert with your Excellency, obtain, as soon as possible, a discovery which so deeply affects the safety of the States. Crimes of that magnitude ought not to remain unpunished."

To which the General with dignity replied.

"Your letter of the 18th ultimo, came to my hands a few days ago, and to my great surprise informed me, that a copy of it had been sent to Congress, for what reason, I find myself unable to account; but as some end doubtless was intended to be answered by it, I am laid under the disagreeable necessity of returning my answer through the same channel, lest any member of

that honourable body should harbour an unfavourable suspicion of my having practised some indirect means to come at the contents of the confidential letters between you and General Conway.

"I am to inform you then, that **********, on his way to Congress, in the month of October last, fell in with Lord Sterling at Reading; and, not in confidence that I ever understood, informed his Aid de camp, Major M Williams, that General Conway had written thus to you, 'Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak General and bad Counsellors would have ruined it.' Lord Sterling, from motives of friendship, transmitted the account with this remark. 'The enclosed was communicated by ******** to Major M'Williams; such wicked duplicity of conduct, I shall always think it my duty to detect."

"In consequence of this information, and without having any thing more in view, than merely to show that gentleman that I was not unapprized of his intriguing disposition, I wrote him a letter in these words.

"Sir, a letter which I received last night, contained the following paragraph.

"In a letter from General Conway to General Gates, he says, 'heaven has been determined to save your country; or a weak General and bad Counsellors would have ruined it; I am, sir, &c.'

"Neither the letter, nor the information which occasioned it, was ever directly, or indirectly, communicated by me to a single officer in this army (out of my own family) excepting the Marquis de la Fayette, who having been spoken to on the subject, by General Conway, applied for, and saw, under injunctions of secrecy, the letter which contained this information; so desirous was I of concealing every matter that could, in its consequences, give the smallest interruption to the tranquillity of this army, or afford a gleam of hope to the enemy by dissensions therein.

"Thus, sir, with an openness and candour, which I

hope will ever characterize and mark my conduct, have I complied with your request.

"The only concern I feel upon the occasion, finding how matters stand, is, that, in doing this, I have necessarily been obliged to name a gentleman, who, I am persuaded, (although I never exchanged a word with him upon the subject) thought he was rather doing an act of justice, than committing an act of infidelity; and sure I am, that until Lord Sterling's letter came to my hands, I never knew that General Conway, (whom I viewed in the light of a stranger to you) was a correspondent of yours, much less did I suspect that I was the subject of your confidential letters. Pardon me then for adding, that, so far from conceiving that the safety of the States can be affected, or in the smallest degree injured, by a discovery of this kind, or that I should be called upon in such solemn terms to point out the author, that I considered the information as coming from yourself, and given with a friendly view to forewarn and consequently forearm me, against a secret enemy, or in other words, a dangerous incendiary, in which character, sooner or later, this country will know General Conway. But, in this, as well as other matters of late, I have found myself mistaken."

In the active period of the last campaign, the Pennsylvanians had been deficient in the support given to General WASHINGTON, yet sore at the loss of their capital, and at the depredation of the enemy in their towns, they murmured that he had not defended them against Sir William Howe, although his force was greatly inferiour to that of the enemy. General Mifflin was then a member of the Legislature of that State. This Legislature being informed that the American army was moving into winter quarters, presented a remonstrance to Congress against the measure, in which unequivocal complaints were contained against the Commander in Chief. This remonstrance was presented at the very time the discovery was

made, that the last rations in the Commissary's stores were issued to the soldiery. General WASHINGTON expressed the feelings of his patriotick and noble mind on this complaint, in a letter addressed to the President of Congress, and written in language which he used on no other occasion.

"Full as I was in my representations of the matters in the Commissary's department yesterday, fresh and more powerful reasons oblige me to add, that I am now convinced beyond a doubt, that unless some great and capital change suddenly takes place in that line, this army must inevitably be reduced to one or other of these three things, to starve, dissolve, or disperse in order to obtain subsistence. Rest assured, sir, that this is not an exaggerated picture, and that I have abundant reason to suppose what I say.

"Saturday afternoon, receiving information that the enemy, in force, had left the city and were advancing towards Derby with apparent design to forage, and draw subsistence from that part of the country, I ordered the troops to be in readiness that I might give every opposition in my power; when, to my great mortification, I was not only informed, but convinced, that the men were unable to stir on account of a want of provisions; and that a dangerous mutiny, begun the night before, and which with difficulty was suppressed by the spirited exertions of some officers, was still much to be apprehended from the want of this article.

"This brought forth the only commissary in the purchasing line in this camp, and with him, this melancholy and alarming truth, that he had not a single hoof of any kind to slaughter, and not more than twenty-five barrels of flour! From hence, form an opinion of our situation, when I add, that he could not tell when to expect any.

"All I could do under these circumstances, was to send out a few light parties to watch and harass the enemy, whilst other parties were instantly detached

different ways to collect, if possible, as much provision as would satisfy the present pressing wants of the soldiery; but will this answer? No, sir, three or four days of bad weather would prove our destruction. What then is to become of the army this winter? And if we are now as often without provisions as with them, what is to become of us in the spring, when our force will be collected with the aid, perhaps of militia, to take advantage of an early campaign before the enemy can be reinforced?—These are considerations of great magnitude, meriting the closest attention, and will, when my own reputation is so intimately connected with, and to be affected by the event, justify my saying, that the present commissaries are by no means equal to the execution of their office, or that the disaffection of the people is past all belief. The misfortune, however, does in my opinion, proceed from both causes, and though I have been tender heretofore of giving any opinion, or of lodging complaints, as the change in that department took place contrary to my judgment, and the consequences thereof were predicted; yet finding that the inactivity of the army, whether for want of provisions, clothes, or other essentials, is charged to my account, not only by the common vulgar, but by those in power, it is time to speak plain, in exculpation of myself. With truth then I can declare, that no man, in my opinion, ever had his measures more impeded than I have, by every department of the army. Since the month of July, we have had no assistance from the Quarter Master General; and to want of assistance from this department, the Commissary General charges great part of his deficiency. To this I am to add, that notwithstanding it is a standing order (and often repeated) that the troops shall always have two days' provision by them, that they might be ready at any sudden call; yet scarcely any opportunity has ever offered of taking advantage of the enemy, that has not been either to-

tally obstructed, or greatly impeded on this account: and this, the great and crying evil, is not all; soap, vinegar, and other articles allowed by Congress, we see none of, nor have we seen them, I believe, since the battle of Brandywine. The first, indeed, we have now little occasion for; few men having more than one shirt, many only the moiety of one, and some none at all. In addition to which, as a proof of the little benefit from a Clothier General, and, at the same time, as a further proof of the inability of an army under the circumstances of this, to perform the common duties of soldiers (besides a number of men confined to hospitals for want of shoes, and others in farmers' houses on the same account) we have, by a field return this day made, no less than two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight men, now in camp, unfit for duty, because they are barefoot, and otherwise naked. By the same return, it appears, that our whole strength in continental troops (including the eastern brigades which have joined us since the surrender of General Burgoyne) exclusive of the Maryland troops sent to Wilmington, amounts to no more than eight thousand two hundred in camp, fit for duty; notwithstanding which, and that since the fourth instant, our number fit for duty, from the hardships and exposures they have undergone, particularly from the want of blankets, have decreased near two thousand men, we find, gentlemen, without knowing whether the army was really going into winter quarters or not, (for I am sure no resolution of mine would warrant the remonstrance) reprobating the measure as much as if they thought the soldiers were made of stocks, or stones, and equally insensible of frost and snow; and moreover, as if they conceived it easily practicable for an inferiour army, under the disadvantages I have described ours to be, which is by no means exaggerated, to confine a superiour one, in all respects well appointed, and provided for a winter's campaign, within

the city of Philadelphia, and to cover from depreda tion and waste, the states of Pennsylvania, Jersey, &c. But what makes this matter still more extraordinary in my eyes is, that these very gentlemen, who were well apprized of the nakedness of the troops, from ocular demonstration, who thought their own soldiers worse clad than ours, and advised me, near a month ago, to postpone the execution of a plan I was about to adopt, in consequence of a resolve of Congress, for seizing clothes, under strong assurances, that an ample supply would be collected in ten days, agreeably to a decree of the state, not one article of which, bye the bye, is yet come to hand, should think a winter's campaign, and the covering these states from the invasion of an enemy, so easy and practicable a business. I can assure those gentlemen, that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room, by a good fire side, than to occupy a cold bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow without clothes or blankets: however, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul, pity those miseries which it is not in my pow er either to relieve or to prevent."

All these efforts to displace the Commander in Chief were unavailing, and served only to expose their authors to the resentment of the community. He was too well established in the confidence of the army, and of the great body of the nation, to be moved from his elevated, but arduous trust. Even the victorious troops, which served under General Gates, indignantly noticed the attempt to raise him to the place of their beloved General. The resentment of the main army against those, who were known to be the active enemies of General Washington, was so great, that none of them dared appear in camp: General Conway found it necessary to resign his commission. He afterwards fought a duel with General Cadwallader,

and thinking himself to be mortally wounded wrote General WASHINGTON the following letter.

"I find myself just able to hold the pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity to express my sincere grief for having done, written, or said, any thing disagreeable to your Excellency. My career will soon be over; therefore, justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are, in my eyes, the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these states, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues."

1778. The sufferings of the army during this winter for provision and clothing were extreme.—The departments of the Commissary General and Quarter Master General were not yet well arranged. The depreciation of the paper currency embarrassed all purchases, and this embarrassment was increased by the injudicious attempt to regulate by law the prices of articles of consumption and traffick. The enemy possessed a number of the trading towns of the United States, and the commerce of the others was interrupted by their ships of war. These causes combined, produced a famine in camp, and rendered a great part of the army incapable of service for the want of clothing. Although the Commander in Chief applied all the means in his power to remedy these evils, yet from them, he apprehended the dissolution of the army In December he issued a proclamation, calling upon all the farmers within seventy miles of Head Quarters, to thresh out one half of their grain by the 1st of February; and the other half by the 1st of March, on penalty of having it all seized as straw. Detachments were also sent out to collect all animals fit for slaughter, leaving only a competence for the use of the inhabitants. But notwithstanding all this vigilance and exertion, the supplies were inadequate. Early in February, the country in the neighbourhood of camp became exhausted, and the Commissaries communicated to the Gene-

ral, that it would be impossible for them to supply the army beyond the first of March. General WASHINGTON looked towards New-England as the only effectual source of necessary supplies. He accordingly addressed letters to the Executives of these states, painting in glowing colours, the condition of the army, and urging these constituted authorities, by every motive of patriotism and honour, to forward provisions to his camp. These applications were ultimately successful; but before relief in this way could be afforded, the scarcity was so great, as to threaten the total destruction of the army. The soldiers were at times without meat, for two, three, and in one instance, for five days

The distress of the army for the want of clothing was almost as great as that for want of provisions. Of more than seventeen thousand men in camp, the effectives amounted to only five thousand and twelve. In February, three thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine were unfit for duty by nakedness. The insufficiency of the clothes of those, who were called effectives, exposed them to colds and other consequent indispositions, and the hospitals were filled with the sick.

General WASHINGTON happily possessed those commanding and conciliatory talents, which strongly attached the soldiery to his person, and by the influence of his character he stifled every appearance of mutiny. In general orders he soothed the minds of his troops, and in their imaginations lessened those evils, which in his addresses to Congress and to the State Governments, he was labouring to remove. Very few of the native Americans deserted from the army during this winter; but many of the foreigners left their standards, and some of them fled with their arms to the British camp.

Had Sir William Howe marched out of his winter quarters and assaulted the American camp, the want of provision and clothing would have compelled the

army, without serious contention, to disperse. But that cautious commander was restrained from the enterprise, from a regard to the health and safety of his own troops. Perhaps he did not fully know the condition of the American soldiery.

While General WASHINGTON was actively employed in supplying his troops, his mind was deeply engaged on a plan to recruit the army for the approaching campaign.

From jealousy of a standing army, or in the prospect of redress of grievances by the British government, Congress depending on annual enlistments, and on the aid of the militia, had neglected to enlist men for the war, until the depreciation of the paper currency, the hardships and privations of the soldiers, and the high bounty paid for short periods of service, rendered the measure impracticable. General WASHINGTON importuned Congress and the governments of the respective States not to rely on foreign aid, but depending on the strength and resources of the country, to make the necessary exertions seasonably to meet the operations of the British General.

He gave an exact account to each State of its troops on the continental establishment, and urged them respectively to supply their deficiency.

The serious difficulties respecting the army induced Congress to depute a Committee of their own body to the camp, to consult with the General, and report to them such plans as the publick interest required. This committee repaired to Head Quarters in January. The General, having taken the advice of his officers, presented to them a memorial stating the difficulties that existed in the army, and pointing out the remedies. In these remedies was included that honourable provision for officers, which would make their commissions valuable, and secure the prompt execution of duty, through fear of censure, and from an apprehension of the loss of employment.

The representations of General WASHINGTON produced, in a good degree, their effect. The division of power in the subordinate departments of the army which had destroyed all responsibility, and created endless confusion, was removed. General Green was appointed Quarter Master General, and Colonel Wadsworth Commissary General. These officers had a controlling power over their deputies, and under their management these departments were greatly improved. The movements of the army were from this period made with facility, and the soldiers never afterwards suffered privations like those of this winter.

The alliance of France with America, and the subsequent co-operation of that power with the United States, rendered Philadelphia a dangerous post for the British. Before the campaign opened, Sir William Howe resigned the command of the British
MAY 20. army, and Sir Henry Clinton with his commission as Commander in Chief, received orders to evacuate that city. General WASHINGTON early penetrated this intention, and made his arrangements to meet it. He was uncertain whether the evacuation would be made by water, or whether Sir Henry would march his army through Jersey to New-York. As circumstances strengthened the probability that the British commander would attempt a passage through New-Jersey, General WASHINGTON detached General Maxwell with the Jersey brigade over the Delaware, to take post on Mount Holly, and with the assistance of the Jersey militia, to obstruct the progress of the enemy. He was directed to fell trees, to break up bridges, and to hang upon the flanks of the British army.

When it was fully ascertained that Sir
JUNE 17. Henry Clinton was crossing the Delaware, General WASHINGTON required the opinion of his officers respecting measures proper to be pursued. General Lee, who, having been exchanged,

had now joined the army, was decidedly against a general action, and he discountenanced even a partial attack, on the supposition that it would probably bring on a general engagement. In this opinion, the officers almost unanimously concurred. Of seventeen Generals, who composed the military Council, on this occasion, General Wayne and General Cadwallader only were decidedly in favour of an engagement. General Green gave it as his opinion that the country should be defended, and that if this led to an engagement, he would not shun it.

Although many of their stores were taken down the river in the shipping, yet the British army was encumbered with an immense quantity of baggage; and their line of march extended twelve miles. The weather being intensely hot, their movements were very slow; in seven days, they marched only forty miles. On the 24th, General Clinton reached Allenton, and it was yet uncertain whether he would take the road to Amboy, or to Sandy Hook. General WASHINGTON therefore kept upon the High Lands of New-Jersey, above the enemy. In this situation, he had it in his power to fight or not, as circumstances should dictate. By the slow movement of the enemy, he was inclined to think that Sir Henry wished for an engagement Colonel Morgan, with his regiment consisting of six nundred men, was detached to gain the right flank of the enemy, and ordered to annoy him in every possible way. General Cadwallader, with Jackson's regiment, and a small corps of militia, was ordered to harass his rear.

The British army at this time was calculated at ten thousand men, and the American army consisted of between ten and eleven thousand. Although the late Council decided by a large majority against a general engagement, yet General WASHINGTON inclined to the measure. He again summoned his officers, and took their opinion, "whether it was adviseable to seek

a general action? If adviseable, is it best to attack with the whole army, to bring on a general engage ment by a partial attack, or to take a position that shall oblige the enemy to make an assault upon us?" The Council again determined against a general engagement; but advised to strengthen the detachments on the wings of the enemy. General Scott was, in consequence, detached with fifteen hundred men to this service.

Having a force rather superiour to the British, General WASHINGTON conceived that the favourable opportunity to attack the enemy, ought not to be lost, and on his own responsibility, resolved to hazard a general engagement.

JUNE 25. Having learned that Sir Henry Clinton was moving towards Monmouth Court House, he detached Brigadier Wayne with a thousand men to reinforce the troops in advance. He offered the command of the whole force in front to General Lee; but he, being opposed even to partial actions with the enemy, declined the service. The Marquis La Fayette joyfully accepted the command, which his senior Major General had declined. The orders given to the Marquis were similar to those which had before been given to the officers on the lines, to gain the rear and right flank of the enemy, and give him all possible annoyance. The Commander in Chief put the main army in motion, that he might be in a situation to support his parties in advance. By these movements General Lee perceived that more importance than he had imagined was given to the division in front, and he now importunately requested the command, which before he had declined. To gratify him without mortifying the Marquis, he was detached with two additional brigades to act in front, and the command of the whole, consisting of five thousand men, of course devolved on him. He was ordered to keep

his detachments constantly on their arms and ever in a situation to attack.

Sir Henry Clinton perceiving the approach of a powerful force, changed the position of his army, and placed his best troops in the rear. On the 27th, he encamped in a secure manner on the heights about Monmouth Court House. He could not be attacked in this position with the probability of success, and he was within twelve miles of strong ground, where he could not be assailed. General WASHINGTON therefore resolved to attack him as soon as he should move from his present encampment.

JUNE 28. About five in the morning, the Commander in Chief was informed that the front of the British army was in motion · he immediately despatched an Aid de Camp to General Lee with orders to move on and attack the rear of the enemy, "unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary," assuring him that the main body should seasonably move to support him.

From the movements of the American army, Sir Henry expected an attack. Early on the morning of the 28th, General Knyphausen marched with all the baggage of the British army. The grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs, unencumbered, remained on the ground under the command of Lord Cornwallis, and with this division was Sir Henry.

Having allowed time for General Knyphausen to move out of his way, Lord Cornwallis about eight o'clock took up his line of march, and descended from the heights of Freehold into a plain of about three miles extent. General Lee made his disposition to execute the orders of the Commander in Chief. Passing the heights of Freehold, he entered the plain, and ordered General Wayne to attack the rear of the covering party of the enemy in such a manner as to halt them; while he himself by a shorter road should gain their

front, with the design to cut them off from the main body of their army.

In the mean time General Clinton perceiving that strong columns of Americans were hanging upon both his flanks, and supposing that their object was to attack his baggage now passing through defiles, resolved to halt Lord Cornwallis's division and attack the Americans in his rear, with the expectation, that General WASHINGTON by this manœuvre would be induced to recall his detachments in advance. This movement was made at the moment Lee was reconnoitring their covering party. He found this corps much stronger than he had supposed it to be, and the ground he thought unfavourable for an attack. In his rear was a morass which could be passed only by a neck of hard land, which rendered it difficult for reinforcements to reach him, and would impede his retreat should he be repulsed. He was finally induced by a movement of General Scott, to cross the ravine and regain the heights of Freehold.

During these manœuvres, some skirmishing took place. As soon as General WASHINGTON heard the firing, he directed the troops under his immediate command, to throw off their packs and march rapidly to the support of the division in front. General Lee gave no information of his retrograde manœuvre to the Commander in Chief. As General WASHINGTON was approaching the scene of action in advance of his troops, he met, to his surprise and mortification, the corps of General Lee retreating before the enemy, without having made any serious efforts to maintain their ground. He found General Lee in the rear of his division, whom he addressed with warmth, and in language disapproving his retreat. He immediately ordered two regiments to form on ground favourable to check the advancing enemy. He asked General Lee, will you command on this ground? Consenting, he was ordered to arrange the remainder of his division

and to take measures to stop the advance of the British. "Your orders," Lee replied, "shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field." The Commander in Chief returned to the main body and formed it for action. The division of Lee now bravely sustained a severe conflict with the van of the British, and when forced from the ground, Lee brought his troops off in order, and formed them in rear of English Town.

The check the enemy received, enabled General WASHINGTON to form the left wing and second line of the army on an eminence. Lord Sterling, who commanded this wing, planted a battery of cannon and played with effect upon the British column, which had passed the morass and was pressing on to charge the Americans. At the same time a body of infantry was brought into action. The advance of the enemy was by these measures stopped.

General Green, who on this day commanded the right wing of the American army, had left the direct road near English Town and moved upon the right, as a security to this flank of the army, and had rather passed the ground on which the action began. Learning the situation of General WASHINGTON, he brought up his division, and took an advantageous position on the right.

The enemy now attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed by parties of infantry. They then assailed the right wing, and here too they failed. General Green had posted a body of troops with artillery on commanding ground in his front, which severely galled the enemy. At this period General Wayne advanced with a strong corps of infantry, and in a close and well directed fire attacked them in front. They gave way and fell behind the ravine to the ground, on which the Commander in Chief met General Lee in the morning. On this ground the British formed in a strong position. Both

flanks were covered by woods and morasses, and their front could be attacked only through a narrow pass.

General WASHINGTON, even under these circumstances, determined to renew the engagement. In pursuance of this resolution, he ordered Brigadier Poor to gain the right flank of the British, and Brigadier Woodford their left. The artillery was directed to play upon them in front. Before these orders could be effectually carried into execution, the day was fully spent. The General therefore determined to defer the attack until the next morning. He ordered the troops to retain their respective positions, and to lay on their arms. The General in the course of the day had shunned no danger, and he slept in his cloak amidst his soldiers on the field of battle.

At midnight, the British moved off their ground with such silence, that General Poor although very near did not perceive it. General WASHINGTON knew that the British army would reach high and unassailable ground before he could come up with them, and therefore discontinued the pursuit. He despatched small parties of light troops to protect the country from depredation and to encourage desertion. The main body of his army he marched to cover the important passes in the high lands on the Hudson.

General WASHINGTON was satisfied with the behaviour of his army on this day. In his official communication to Congress he mentioned that after the troops had recovered from the surprise of the unexpected retreat of the morning, their conduct could not have been surpassed. General Wayne was noticed with great commendation, and the artillery corps was said to have highly distinguished itself.

In the battle of Monmouth, eight officers and sixty-one privates of the Americans were killed; and about one hundred and sixty wounded. Among the killed were Lieutenant Colonel Bonner of Pennsylvania and Major Dickinson of Virginia, officers of merit,

whose fall was much lamented. The Americans buried about three hundred of the British, who had been found on the field; although Sir Henry Clinton, in his official letter, stated his loss in killed and missing at four officers and one hundred and eighty-four privates, and his wounded at sixteen officers and one hundred and fifty-four privates. Among the slain was the Honourable Colonel Monckton, an officer of celebrity. The day had been excessively hot, and numbers, both British and Americans, were found among the dead without wounds, who had fallen victims to the heat.

The Americans made about a hundred prisoners, and nearly a thousand privates, mostly Germans, deserted the British standard, on the march through New-Jersey.

Congress highly approved of the conduct of the Commander in Chief in bringing on the action of the 28th, and was gratified with its issue. In a resolution which passed that body unanimously, their thanks were given to General WASHINGTON "for the activity with which he moved from the camp at Valley Forge, in pursuit of the enemy; for his distinguished exertions in forming the line of battle; and for his great, good conduct in the action." He was requested "to signify the thanks of Congress to the officers and men under his command, who distinguished themselves by their conduct and valour in the battle."

Although the Commander in Chief disapproved of the retreat, yet could the proud spirit of General Lee have patiently borne what he considered as a reprimand on the field of battle, it is probable that an explanation mutually satisfactory might have taken place. General WASHINGTON continued him in command on the day of action, after his retreat, and discovered no disposition to take publick notice of it. But the irritable and lofty spirit of Lee urged him to write the next day two offensive letters to General WASHINGTON, in which, assuming the language of a superiour, he

demanded satisfaction for the insult offered him on the field of battle. On deliberation, the Commander in Chief informed him "that he should have an opportunity to justify himself to the army, to America, and the world, or of convincing them that he had been guilty of breach of orders and misconduct before the enemy." General Lee, expressing his desire for a Court Martial in preference to a Court of Inquiry, was arrested upon the following charges,

1. For disobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June agreeably to repeated instructions.
2. For misbehaviour before the enemy on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.
3. For disrespect to the Commander in Chief, in two letters.

The high colouring of the second charge was in consequence of complaints entered by Generals Wayne and Scott, against General Lee, which on investigation appeared to have been founded in their misapprehending his movements. Lord Sterling presided at the court, which found him guilty of all the charges, but softened the language of the second, and found him guilty of misbehaviour, by making an unnecessary, and in some few instances, a disorderly retreat. The court sentenced him to be suspended from his command for one year.

Congress, with some hesitation, almost unanimously approved the sentence

The suspension of General Lee was highly satisfactory to the army. They keenly resented his abuse to the Commander in Chief, and his continuance in commission probably would have produced great inconvenience.

Scarcely had Sir Henry Clinton reached New-York, when a French fleet appeared off the Chesapeak, under the command of Count d'Estaing. He had been

eighty-seven days in crossing the Atlantick. Had his passage been an ordinary one, he would have found Lord Howe in the Delaware, and the capture or destruction of the British fleet in that river, and probably of the army in Philadelphia, must have been the consequence. Count d'Estaing being disappointed at the Delaware, sailed along the coast to Sandy Hook. General WASHINGTON moved his army to the White Plains, that he might be in a situation to co-operate with the French Admiral against New-York.

In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton employed his whole force to strengthen his lines. The French Admiral finding an attack upon New-York impracticable, a conjoint expedition was planned against Rhode-Island.

At the critical moment when the success of the united action of the French and American army was reduced to a moral certainty, Count d'Estaing sailed out of the harbour of Newport to fight Lord Howe Being overtaken by a violent storm, his fleet was greatly damaged, and he thought it adviseable to repair to Boston harbour to refit.

In consequence of the harbour of Newport being opened to the British, General Sullivan, the commanding officer upon Rhode-Island, was compelled to retreat. He and his general officers had remonstrated against Count d'Estaing leaving Newport, and in the moment of disappointment and irritation at the failure of the expedition, General Sullivan in orders, used expressions which were construed into a severe reflection upon the French Admiral and other marine officers, and which they resented.

General WASHINGTON, alarmed at the probable consequences of a misunderstanding and jealousy between the French and Americans, so soon after the alliance was formed, and in the very commencement of their united operations, immediately adopted measures to prevent them. In letters to Generals Heath and Sulli

van, he communicated the mode of conduct which he wished might in this delicate transaction be pursued.

To Heath, who commanded in Boston, he expressed his apprehension that resentment of the conduct of the Count might prevent the proper exertion to repair and victual the French fleet, and he urged Heath to counteract such prejudices.

"It will certainly be sound policy to combat the effects, and whatever private opinions may be entertained, to give the best construction of what has happened to the publick; and at the same time to exert ourselves to put the French fleet, as soon as possible, in a condition to defend itself, and be useful to us The departure of the fleet from Rhode-Island is not yet publickly announced here; but when it is, I intend to ascribe it to necessity produced by the damage received in the late storm. This, it appears to me, is the idea which ought to be generally propagated. As I doubt not, the force of these reasons will strike you equally with myself, I would recommend to you to use your utmost influence to palliate and soften matters, and to induce those, whose business it is, to provide succours of every kind for the fleet, to employ their utmost zeal and activity in doing it. It is our duty to make the best of our misfortunes, and not suffer passion to interfere with our interest and the publick good."

To General Sullivan he mentioned "his apprehension that should the expedition fail, in consequence of being abandoned by the French fleet, loud complaints might be made by the officers employed on it. Prudence," he said, "dictated the propriety of giving this affair the best appearance, and of attributing the withdrawing the fleet from Rhode-Island to absolute necessity. The reasons," he added, "for this line of conduct, were too obvious to need explanation. That of most importance was, that their enemies, both in

ternal and external, would seize the first cause of disgust between the allies, and endeavour to convert it into a serious rupture."

When the General received the resolution of Congress, directing him to take every measure in his power to prevent the publication of the protest entered into by General Sullivan and his officers, he communicated the resolution and with it the following letter. "The disagreement between the army under your command, and the fleet, has given me very singular uneasiness. The continent at large is concerned in our cordiality, and it should be kept up by all possible means consistent with our honour and policy. First impressions, you know, are generally longest retained, and will serve to fix, in a great degree, our national character with the French. In our conduct towards them, we should remember, that they are a people old in war, very strict in military etiquette, and apt to take fire when others scarcely seem warmed. Permit me to recommend, in the most particular manner, the cultivation of harmony and good agreement, and your endeavours to destroy that ill humour which may have found its way among the officers. It is of the utmost importance too, that the soldiers and the people should know nothing of this misunderstanding, or, if it has reached them, that means may be used to stop its progress and prevent its effects."

In a correspondence with Count d'Estaing, General WASHINGTON strove to soften his resentments, to sooth the chagrin of disappointment, and to conciliate his good affections towards the United States.

These prudent measures were attended with the most salutary effects.

With the battle of Monmouth, active operations for the campaign closed in the Middle States. On the approach of winter, the American army went into quarters in the neighbourhood of the High Lands.

Being better clothed and fed than in the preceding winter, their situation was greatly ameliorated, and their sufferings were comparatively nothing.

At the close of the campaign of 1778, the local situation of the hostile armies did not greatly differ from that at the commencement of the campaign of 1776, except the possession of New-York by the British.

This fact is impressively stated by General WASHINGTON, in a letter written to a friend. "It is not a little pleasing, nor less wonderful to contemplate, that after two years manœuvring, and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and the offending party in the beginning is now reduced to the use of the pickaxe and the spade for defence. The hand of providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude to acknowledge his obligations."

CHAPTER VI.

Plan formed by Congress and the French Minister for the Invasion of Canada and Nova-Scotia—General Washington's objections to it—Tardiness of the United States to prepare for the approaching Campaign—The exertions of the General—His Letter on the State of the Nation—The Remonstrance of Officers belonging to the New-Jersey Brigade—Letters of the Commander in Chief on the Subject—Expedition against the Indians under General Sullivan—He destroys their Towns—The American Army posted for the Defence of the High Lands on the North River, and for the protection of the Country against the Incursions of the British—Sir Henry Clinton moves up the Hudson, takes Possession of Stony and Verplank Points, and fortifies them—Arrangements made for assaulting these Posts—General Wayne carries Stony Point by Storm—The Attack upon Verplank fails—Congress vote their thanks to General Washington and to the brave Troops employed in this service—They vote General Wayne a Medal—Evils of short Enlistments—Plan of the General's to remedy them—The Army in two divisions erect huts for Winter Quarters,—The Troops suffer through the scarcity of Provisions—Colonel Wadsworth resigns his Office—Confusion in the Commissary's Department—The Commander in Chief apportions supplies of Meat and Flour upon the Counties of New-Jersey—The Winter excessively cold, and the Waters around New-York frozen over—Expedition to Staten Island fails.

1779. The emancipation of Canada had ever been an important object with Congress. By its incorporation with the revolted colonies, the boundaries of the United States would be greatly enlarged, and the country delivered from the destruction and terrour of war from the northern tribes of Indians.

In the winter of 1777—8, an expedition for this purpose had been settled with the Marquis de la Fayette, and in its prosecution he repaired to Ticonderoga. Wanting then the means to accomplish the design, it was relinquished. During the succeeding autumn the scheme was resumed under the auspices of the French Minister. The plan embraced the conquest of Canada, Nova Scotia, and all their dependencies. It was to be carried into effect by the joint operations of distinct detachments of Americans, acting in different points,

and all co-operating with a French fleet and army on the river Saint Lawrence.

This lofty scheme of military operations had been adopted in Congress without consulting with the Commander in Chief, or any American officer. It was to be communicated to the French Court by the Marquis de la Fayette, and his influence, with that of the French Minister, was to be employed to induce his government to adopt their part of the expedition. In October the plan was communicated to General WASHINGTON, he was desired to give Congress his opinion upon it, and to enclose it with his comments to the Marquis.

The General had already revolved in his mind an expedition against the British posts in Upper Canada, with the intention to be prosecuted the next season, on the contingence that the British army should be withdrawn from the United States. Struck with the extravagance of the plan of Congress, instead of complying with their requisition, he wrote to them, stating in strong terms his objections to the scheme. He mentioned the impolicy of entering into any engagements with the Court of France to execute a combined system of operation, without a moral certainty of being able to execute the part assigned to America.

It was, the General observed, morally certain in his mind, that if the English should maintain their posts on the continent, it would be impracticable to furnish the men, or the necessary stores and provisions for the expedition. "If I rightly understand the plan," he remarked, "it requires for its execution, twelve thousand and six hundred rank and file. Besides these, to open passages through a wilderness, for the march of the several bodies of troops, to provide the means of long and difficult transportation by land and water, to establish posts of communication for the security of our convoys, to build and man vessels of force necessary for acquiring a superiority on the lakes; these

and many other purposes peculiar to these enterprises, will require a much larger proportion of artificers, and persons to be employed in manual and laborious offices than are usual in military operations." The aggregate number, he observed, requisite for the contemplated expedition, added to the force necessary to be kept in the field to restrain depredation from the British posts at New-York, would make nearly double the men necessary, to any number, which with all their efforts, the United States were ever yet able to raise.

The experience of the General taught him, that it would be as difficult to furnish the necessary supplies of provisions as to raise the men. "The scene of our operations has hitherto been in the heart of the country, furnishing our resources, which of course facilitated the drawing them out. We shall then be carrying on the war at an immense distance, in a country wild and uncultivated, incapable of affording any aid, and great part of it hostile. We cannot, in this case, depend on temporary and occasional supplies, as we have been accustomed; but must have ample magazines laid up before-hand. The labour and expense in forming these, and transporting the necessary stores of every kind for the use of the troops, will be increased to a degree that can be more easily conceived than described The transportation must be a great part of the way through deserts affording no other forage than herbage; and from this circumstance our principal provisions, of the flesh kind, must be salted, which would greatly increase the difficulty, both of providing and transporting." Supplies upon this scale, he conceived, greatly exceeded the resources of the country, and in policy and honour, Congress could not promise to furnish them.

Serious doubts rested upon the mind of the General, whether France would execute the part of the Canada expedition assigned to her. The superiority of the British fleet was evident The Court of London would

be made acquainted with the scheme, and a superiour British fleet might prevent the French squadron, detached on this service, from entering the river St Lawrence, or destroy it after its entrance, or the British garrisons in Canada might be reinforced, and rendered superiour to the assailing armament.

In an expedition consisting of several distinct parts, General WASHINGTON thought it unreasonable to expect that exact co-operation among the different detachments which would be necessary for mutual support; of consequence, the divisions might be defeated in detail, and after all the expense, the expedition miscarry. The consequences of a failure, which were much to be deprecated, would be the misapplication of the French force; the ruin of the detachments employed in the expedition, and jealousy and disaffection between France and the United States.

The letter of the Commander in Chief, Congress referred to a Committee. In their report, this Committee admit his objections to be weighty, but still advise to the prosecution of the plan. Congress accepted the report, and again requested the General to write fully on the subject to the Marquis, and to Dr. Franklin, then the American Minister at the Court of Versailles. Congress probably felt themselves already pledged by their conversation with the Marquis and the French Minister, and possibly they thought that measures had already been adopted in France to carry the plan into execution.

General WASHINGTON was greatly perplexed by the perseverance of Congress in this measure. All his objections to the plan remained in full force, and he found himself called upon to use his influence to bring the French government to adopt a scheme, of which he himself wholly disapproved, and to promise the co-operation of the American arms in a manner that he thought impracticable. To this request he thus replied:

"I have attentively taken up the report of the Committee of the fifth, (approved by Congress) on the subject of my letter of the 11th ultimo, on the proposed expedition into Canada. I have considered it in several lights, and sincerely regret that I should feel myself under any embarrassment in carrying it into execution. Still I remain of opinion, from a general review of things, and the state of our resources, that no extensive system of co-operation with the French for the complete emancipation of Canada, can be positively decided on for the ensuing year. To propose a plan of perfect co-operation with a foreign power, without a moral certainty in our supplies; and to have that plan actually ratified with the Court of Versailles, might be attended, in case of failure in the conditions on our part, with very fatal effects.

"If I should seem unwilling to transmit the plan as prepared by Congress, with my observations, it is because I find myself under a necessity (in order to give our minister sufficient ground to found an application on) to propose something more than a vague and indecisive plan; which, even in the event of a total evacuation of the states by the enemy, may be rendered impracticable in the execution by a variety of insurmountable obstacles; or if I retain my present sentiments, and act consistently, I must point out the difficulties, as they appear to me, which must embarrass his negotiations, and may disappoint the views of Congress.

"But proceeding on the idea of the enemy's leaving these states, before the active part of the ensuing campaign, I should fear to hazard a mistake, as to the precise aim and extent of the views of Congress. The conduct I am to observe in writing to our Minister at the Court of France, does not appear sufficiently delineated. Were I to undertake it, I should be much afraid of erring through misconception. In this dilemma, I would esteem it a particular favour to be excus

ed from writing at all on the subject, especially as it is the part of candour in me to acknowledge, that I do not see my way clear enough to point out such a plan for co-operation, as I conceive to be consistent with the ideas of Congress, and as will be sufficiently explanatory, with respect to time and circumstances, to give efficacy to the measure.

"But if Congress still think it necessary for me to proceed in the business, I must request their more definite and explicit instructions, and that they will permit me, previous to transmitting the intended despatches, to submit them to their determination.

"I could wish to lay before Congress more minutely, the state of the army, the condition of supplies, and the requisites necessary for carrying into execution an undertaking that may involve the most serious events. If Congress think this can be done more satisfactorily in a personal conference, I hope to have the army in such a situation before I can receive their answer, as to afford me an opportunity of giving my attendance."

Congress indulged the General with the proposed interview, and a Committee of their body was chosen to confer with him on this business and on the state of the army. His objections were found to be unanswerable, and the Canada expedition was laid aside.

To the magnificent schemes of Congress upon Canada, succeeded through United America a state of supineness and inaction. An alliance with France was received as a security for independence In the expectation that Great Britain would relinquish the American war, that she might with her united force contend with her ancient enemy in Europe, Congress appeared not disposed to encounter the expense necessary to prepare for another active campaign. The delusive supposition that the war was over prevailed through the country, and palsied the spirit of the community. General WASHINGTON perpetually stimulated his countrymen to exertion. Uninfected with the common de

lusion, he believed that Great Britain would continue the American war, and in every possible way exerted himself seasonably to be prepared for the conflict of the field. But Congress was slowly roused to attention to this important business. Their resolution empowering the Commander in Chief to recruit the army did not pass until the 23d of January 1779, and the requisition upon the several states was not made until the 9th of March.

The dissensions which at this time existed in Congress, the speculations that prevailed through the country in consequence of the depreciation of paper money, and the apparent reluctance among all classes of citizens to make sacrifices for the publick interest, greatly alarmed General WASHINGTON. His apprehensions are fully disclosed in the annexed letter written at the time to a confidential friend of distinguished reputation in the political world.

"I am particularly desirous of a free communication of sentiments with you at this time, because I view things very differently, I fear, from what people in general do, who seem to think the contest at an end, and that to make money and get places are the only things now remaining to be done. I have seen without despondency, even for a moment, the hours which America has styled her gloomy ones; but I have beheld no day since the commencement of hostilities, when I have thought her liberties in such imminent danger as at present Friends and foes seem now to combine to pull down the goodly fabrick we have hitherto been raising, at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure; and unless the bodies politick will exert themselves to bring things back to first principles, correct abuses, and punish our internal foes, inevitable ruin must follow. Indeed we seem to be verging so fast to destruction that I am filled with sensations to which I have been a stranger until within these three months. Our enemy behold with exulta

tion and joy how effectually we labour for their benefit; and from being in a state of absolute despair and on the point of evacuating America, are now on tiptoe. Nothing, therefore, in my judgment, can save us but a total reformation in our own conduct, or some decisive turn of affairs in Europe. The former, alas! to our shame be it spoken, is less likely to happen than the latter, as it is now consistent with the views of the speculators, various tribes of money-makers, and stockjobbers of all denominations, to continue the war, for their own private emolument, without considering that this avarice and thirst for gain must plunge every thing, including themselves, in one common ruin.

"Were I to indulge my present feelings, and give a loose to that freedom of expression which my unreserved friendship would prompt to, I should say a great deal on this subject. But letters are liable to so many accidents, and the sentiments of men in office are sought after by the enemy with so much avidity, and besides conveying useful knowledge (if they get into their hands) for the superstructure of their plans, are so often perverted to the worst of purposes, that I shall be somewhat reserved, notwithstanding this letter goes by a private hand to Mount Vernon. I cannot refrain lamenting, however, in the most poignant terms, the fatal policy too prevalent in most of the states, of employing their ablest men at home, in posts of honour or profit, before the great national interest is fixed upon a solid basis.

"To me it appears no unjust simile, to compare the affairs of this great continent to the mechanism of a clock, each state representing some one or other of the small parts of it, which they are endeavouring to put in fine order, without considering how useless and unavailing their labour is, unless the great wheel, or spring, which is to set the whole in motion, is also well attended to and kept in good order. I allude to

no particular state, nor do I mean to cast reflections upon any one of them, nor ought I, as it may be said, to do so upon their representatives; but as it is a fact too notorious to be concealed, that Congress is rent by party; that much business of a trifling nature and personal concernment, withdraws their attention from matters of great national moment, at this critical period; when it is also known that idleness and dissipation take place of close attention and application; no man who wishes well to the liberties of his country, and desires to see its rights established, can avoid crying out —Where are our men of abilities? Why do they not come forth to save their country? Let this voice, My dear sir, call upon you, Jefferson, and others. Do not, from a mistaken opinion that we are to sit down under our vine and our own fig-tree, let our hitherto noble struggle end in ignominy. Believe me when I tell you there is danger of it. I have pretty good reasons for thinking that administration, a little while ago, had resolved to give the matter up, and negotiate a peace with us upon almost any terms; but I shall be much mistaken if they do not now, from the present state of our currency, dissensions, and other circumstances, push matters to the utmost extremity. Nothing, I am sure will prevent it but the interruption of Spain, and their disappointed hope from Prussia."

The depreciation of the paper currency had reduced the pay of the American officers to a pittance, and the effects were severely felt. At the moment the campaign was to open, the dissatisfaction of a part of the sufferers broke out into acts of violence, which threatened the safety of the whole army. Early in May, the Jersey Brigade was ordered to march as part of a force destined on an expedition into the Indian country. On the reception of this order, the officers of the first regiment presented to their Colonel a remonstrance, addressed to the Legislature of the State, in which

they professed the determination, unless that body immediately attended to their pay and support, within three days to resign their commissions.

This resolution greatly disturbed the Commander in Chief. He foresaw its evil consequences, and on this important occasion determined to exert his personal influence. In a letter to General Maxwell, to be communicated to the dissatisfied officers, he dissuaded them by a sense of honour, and by the love of country from the prosecution of the rash measure they had adopted.

"There is nothing," proceeds the letter, "which has happened in course of the war, that has given me so much pain as the remonstrance you mention from the officers of the first Jersey regiment. I cannot but consider it as a hasty and imprudent step, which on more cool consideration they will themselves condemn. I am very sensible of the inconveniences under which the officers of the army labour, and I hope they do me the justice to believe, that my endeavours to procure them relief are incessant. There is more difficulty however, in satisfying their wishes than perhaps they are aware of. Our resources have been hitherto very limited. The situation of our money is no small embarrassment; for which, though there are remedies, they cannot be the work of a moment. Government is not insensible of the merits and sacrifices of the officers, nor, I am persuaded, unwilling to make a compensation; but it is a truth, of which a little observation must convince us, that it is very much straitened in the means. Great allowances ought to be made on this account, for any delay, and seeming backwardness which may appear. Some of the States indeed have done as generously as it is at this juncture in their power, and if others have been less expeditious, it ought to be ascribed to some peculiar cause, which a little time, aided by example, will remove. The patience and perseverance of the army have been, under every disadvantage, such as to do them the highest

honour, both at home and abroad, and have inspired me with an unlimited confidence in their virtue, which has consoled me amidst every perplexity and reverse of fortune, to which our affairs in a struggle of this nature, were necessarily exposed. Now that we have made so great a progress to the attainment of the end we have in view, so that we cannot fail without a most shameful desertion of our own interests, any thing like a change of conduct would imply a very unhappy change of principles, and a forgetfulness as well of what we owe to ourselves as to our country. Did I suppose it possible this could be the case, even in a single regiment of the army, I should be mortified and chagrined beyond expression. I should feel it as a wound given to my own honour, which I consider as embarked with that of the army at large. But this I believe to be impossible. Any corps that was about to set an example of the kind, would weigh well the consequences; and no officer of common discernment and sensibility would hazard them. If they should stand alone in it, independent of other consequences, what would be their feelings on reflecting that they had held themselves out to the world in a point of light inferiour to the rest of the army. Or if their example should be followed, and become general, how could they console themselves for having been the foremost in bringing ruin and disgrace upon their country. They would remember that the army would share a double portion of the general infamy and distress, and that the character of an American officer would become as despicable, as it is now glorious.

"I confess the appearances in the present instance are disagreeable; but I am convinced they seem to mean more than they really do. The Jersey officers have not been outdone by any others in the qualities, either of citizens or soldiers; and I am confident, no part of them would seriously intend any thing that would be a stain on their former reputation. The gen

tlemen cannot be in earnest; they have only reasoned wrong about the means of obtaining a good end, and on consideration, I hope and flatter myself they will renounce what must appear improper. At the opening of a campaign, when under marching orders for an important service, their own honour, duty to the publick, and to themselves, and a regard to military propriety, will not suffer them to persist in a measure, which would be a violation of them all. It will even wound their delicacy, coolly to reflect, that they have hazarded a step which has an air of dictating terms to their country, by taking advantage of the necessity of the moment.

"The declaration they have made to the state, at so critical a time, that unless they obtain relief in the short period of three days, they must be considered out of the service, has very much that aspect; and the seeming relaxation of continuing until the state can have a reasonable time to provide other officers, will be thought only a superficial veil. I am now to request that you will convey my sentiments to the gentlemen concerned, and endeavour to make them sensible that they are in an errour. The service for which the regiment was intended, will not admit of delay. It must at all events march on Monday morning, in the first place to this camp, and further directions will be given when it arrives. I am sure I shall not be mistaken in expecting a prompt and cheerful obedience."

This letter made a deep impression upon the minds of the officers, but did not fully produce the desired effect. In an address to the Commander in Chief, they expressed their unhappiness, that any act of theirs should occasion him pain; but in justification of the measure they had adopted, they pleaded that their state government had paid no attention to their repeated petitions, that they were themselves loaded with debts, and that their families were starving. "At length,"

said they "we have lost all confidence in our Legislature. Reason and experience forbid that we should have any. Few of us have private fortunes; many have families who are already suffering every thing that can be received from an ungrateful country. Are we then to suffer all the inconveniences, fatigues, and dangers, of a military life, while our wives and our children are perishing for want of common necessaries at home; and that without the most distant prospect of reward, for our pay is only nominal? We are sensible that your Excellency cannot wish nor desire this from us.

"We are sorry that you should imagine we meant to disobey orders. It was and still is our determination to march with our regiment, and to do the duty of officers, until the Legislature shall have a reasonable time to appoint others, but no longer.

"We beg leave to assure your Excellency that we have the highest sense of your ability and virtue, that executing your orders has ever given us pleasure; we love the service, and we love our country; but when that country gets so lost to virtue and justice as to forget to support its servants, it then becomes their duty to retire from its service."

This attempt in the officers to justify their conduct placed General WASHINGTON in a very critical and delicate situation. Severe measures, he apprehended, would probably drive the whole Jersey brigade from the service; and to assume the exercise of the powers of Commander in Chief, and then recede without producing the effect, must hazard his own authority, and injure the discipline of the army. Under these embarrassing circumstances, he prudently resolved to take no further notice of this address, than to notify the officers, through General Maxwell, that while they continued to do their duty, he should only regret the step they had taken, and hope that they themselves would perceive its impropriety.

This alarming transaction, the General communicated to Congress, and at the same time reminded them of his repeated and urgent entreaties in behalf of his officers. Some general provision for them he now recommended as a measure of absolute necessity. "The distresses in some corps," he observed, "are so great, either where they were not until lately attached to any particular state, or where the state has been less provident, that officers have solicited even to be supplied with the clothing destined for the common soldiers, course and unsuitable as it was. I had not power to comply with the request.

"The patience of men animated by a sense of duty and honour, will support them to a certain point, beyond which it will not go. I doubt not Congress will be sensible of the danger of an extreme in this respect, and will pardon my anxiety to obviate it."

The regiment marched agreeably to orders, and the officers withdrew their remonstrance. The Legislature took measures for their relief, and they continued in the service.

The situation of the hostile armies not favouring active operations, General WASHINGTON planned an expedition into the Indian country. His experience while he commanded the troops of Virginia in the French war, convinced him, that the only effectual method to defend the frontiers from the destructive invasion of Indian foes, is to carry the war into their own country. To retaliate, in some measure, the cruelties the Indians had inflicted on the Americans, and to deter them from their repetition, General Sullivan, the commanding officer, was ordered, on this occasion, to exercise a degree of severity, which, in the usual operations of war, was abhorrent to the humane disposition of the Commander in Chief. In the course of the summer months, General Sullivan successfully prosecuted the plan, and destroyed the Indian

towns upon the northern boundary of the state of New-York.

The disposable force of Sir Henry Clinton this year consisted of between sixteen and seventeen thousand men. The troops under the immediate command of General WASHINGTON amounted to about sixteen thousand. A view of the numbers of the two hostile armies is sufficient to show, that offensive operations against the strong posts of the British, were not in the power of General WASHINGTON. The marine force, by which these posts were supported, facilitated the designs of the British commander in predatory expeditions upon the American shores and rivers; but in the middle states, the campaign passed away without any military operations upon a large scale. The American General posted his troops in a situation the most favourable to protect the country from the excursions of the enemy, and to guard the High Lands on the north river. These High Lands were the object of the principal manœuvres of the opposing Generals, and the scene of some brilliant military achievements.

West Point was now the chief post of the Americans on the Hudson. Here was their principal magazine of provisions and military stores. It was situated upon the western side of the river, in the bosom of the mountain, was difficult of approach, and its natural strength had been increased by fortifications, although they were not completed. Lower down at the foot of the mountain is King's ferry, over which passes the great road from the eastern to the middle states. This ferry is commanded by the points of land on the two shores. The point on the west side is high, rough ground, and is called Stony Point. That on the east side is a low neck of land projecting into the river, and denominated Verplank's Point. On each shore General WASHINGTON had erected fortifications, and

a small garrison under the command of a Captain was placed in Verplank.

Sir Henry Clinton, on the last of May, moved with the greater part of his force up the river towards these posts. On his approach Stony Point was evacuated; but the celerity of his movements obliged the garrison at Verplank to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The possession of King's ferry could not have been the sole object of Sir Henry's movement, his force was much greater than this purpose required. The possession of West Point was probably the ultimate design of the expedition; but the excellent disposition of the American troops defeated this intention of the British Commander. Having fortified the positions of Stony Point and Verplank, and placed garrisons in them, Sir Henry returned with his army to New-York.

The Americans were subjected to great inconvenience by the loss of King's ferry. To pass the North river, they were obliged to take a route by the way of Fish Kill, through a rough and mountainous country, and the transportation of heavy articles for the army by this circuitous road became very tedious.

General WASHINGTON was induced by a variety of motives to attempt the recovery of Stony and Verplank Points. The very attempt would recall the British detachments that were out on predatory expeditions. Success in the plan would give reputation to the American arms, reconcile the publick mind to the plan of the campaign, and restore to the Americans the convenient road across King's ferry. In pursuance of this intention, he reconnoitred the posts and, as far as possible, gained information of the situation of the works, and of the strength of the garrisons. The result was a plan to carry the posts by storm. The assault upon Stony Point was committed to General Wayne, and that no alarm might be given, his force was to consist only of the light infantry of the army, which corps was already on the lines. The

night of the 15th of July was assigned for the attack. The works were strong, and could be approached only by a narrow passage over a piece of marshy ground, and the garrison consisted of six hundred men. About midnight the troops moved up to the works through a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, and without the discharge of a single gun, carried them at the point of the bayonet. The Americans, on this occasion, displayed their usual humanity; they put not an individual to the sword after resistance ceased.

The loss of the Americans in the assault was inconsiderable, compared with the nature of the service. Their killed and wounded did not exceed one hundred men. General Wayne received a wound on the head, which, for a short time stunned him; but he insisted upon entering the fort, which by the support of his aids he accomplished. Sixty-three of the garrison were killed and sixty-eight wounded, and five hundred and forty-three made prisoners. Military stores to some amount were found in the fort.

General Howe was entrusted with the execution of the design against Verplank; but through a number of unfortunate incidents, to which military operations are always liable, it miscarried.

Stony Point alone did not give the Americans the use of King's ferry. Sir Henry Clinton immediately moved up the North river with a large force to recover the post, and General WASHINGTON, not thinking it expedient to take from his army the number of troops necessary to garrison it, destroyed the works and retired to the High Lands. General Clinton erected the fort anew, with superiour fortifications, and placed a respectable garrison in it, under the command of a Brigadier General.

Congress embraced this occasion, by an unanimous resolve, to thank General WASHINGTON for the wisdom, vigilance, and magnanimity, with which he conducted the military operations of the nation, and par

ticularly for the enterprise upon Stony Point. They also unanimously voted their thanks to General Wayne for his brave and soldier-like attack, and presented him with a gold medal emblematical of the action; and they highly commended the coolness, discipline, and persevering bravery of the officers and men in the spirited assault.

During this summer, Spain joined France in the war against England. General WASHINGTON expecting substantial aid from these powers, and unwilling to waste any part of his small force in partial actions, contented himself with the defence of the country from the depredations of the enemy, that he might be in readiness with the greatest possible numbers, to cooperate with the allies of America in an attack upon the British posts. But the fond hope of effective aid from France proved delusive; and the expectation that the war would this season terminate, failed.

Effectual measures were not yet adopted by Congress to establish a permanent army. The officers generally remained in service, but a great proportion of the privates were annually to be recruited. By the delays of the general and state governments, the recruits were never seasonably brought into the field. At different periods they joined the army; and frequently men totally unacquainted with every branch of military service, were introduced in the most critical part of an active campaign.

At the close of this year, General WASHINGTON, not discouraged by all his former unavailing endeavours, once more addressed Congress on this subject, which he deemed essential to the welfare of the union In October he forwarded to that body a minute report of the state of the army, by which it appeared, that between that time and the last of June the next year, the time of service of one half the privates would expire.

With the report he submitted a plan, by which the

recruits of all the states were to be raised and brought to head quarters by the middle of January of each year, that time might be given in some measure to discipline them before the campaign opened.

"The plan I would propose," says the General in the address, "is that each state be informed by Congress annually of the real deficiency of its troops, and called upon to make it up, or such less specifick number as Congress may think proper, by a draught. That the men draughted join the army by the first of January the succeeding year. That from the time the draughts join the army, the officers of the states from which they come, be authorized and directed to use their endeavours to enlist them for the war, under the bounties granted to the officers themselves and the recruits, by the act of the 23d of January last, viz. ten dollars to the officer for each recruit, and two hundred to the recruits themselves. That all state, county, and town bounties to draughts, if practicable, be entirely abolished, on account of the uneasiness and disorders they create among the soldiery, the desertions they produce, and for other reasons which will readily occur. That on or before the first of October annually, an abstract, or return, similar to the present one, be transmitted to Congress, to enable them to make their requisitions to each state with certainty and precision. This I would propose as a general plan to be pursued; and I am persuaded that this or one nearly similar to it, will be found the best now in our power, as it will be attended with least expense to the publick, will place the service on the footing of order and certainty, and will be the only one that can advance the general interest to any great extent."

This judicious plan was never carried into effect. Congress did not make the requisition until February, and the states were not called upon to bring their recruits into the field before the first of April. Thirteen sovereign states exercising their respective independ

ent authorities to form a federal army, were always tardy in time and deficient in the number of men.

On the approach of the inclement season, the army again built themselves huts for winter quarters. Positions were chosen the most favourable for the defence of the American posts, and for covering the country. The army was formed into two divisions. One of these erected huts near West Point, and the other at Morristown in New-Jersey. The head quarters of the Commander in Chief were with the last division.

Great distress was felt this winter on account of the deranged state of the American finances. General Green and Colonel Wadsworth, gentlemen in every respect qualified for the duties of their respective stations, were yet at the head of the Quarter Master and Commissary departments, but the credit of the country was fallen, they had not the means to make prompt payment for articles of supply; and they found it impossible to lay up large magazines of provisions, and extremely difficult to obtain supplies to satisfy the temporary wants of the army.

The evil was increased by a new arrangement introduced by Congress into the Commissary department. A fixed salary in the depreciated currency of the country was given to the Commissary General, and he was authorized to appoint a certain number of deputies, whose stipends were also established, and to whom no emolument of office was allowed. Deputies competent to the business could not be obtained upon the terms established by Congress, confusion and derangement ensued through the whole department, and in consequence Colonel Wadsworth was constrained to resign his office.

Before the month of January expired, the soldiers were put upon allowance, and before its close, the whole stock of provision in store was exhausted, and there was neither meat nor flour to be distributed to the troops. To prevent the dissolution of the army

the Commander in Chief was reluctantly driven to very vigorous measures. He apportioned upon each county in the state of New-Jersey a quantity of meat and flour, according to the ability of each, to be brought into camp in the course of six days. At the same time he wrote to the magistrates, stating the absolute necessity of the measure, and informing them, that unless the inhabitants voluntarily complied with the requisition, the exigency of the case would force him to obtain it by military exaction. To the honour of the inhabitants of New-Jersey, harassed as their country had been, the full quantity of provision required was cheerfully and seasonably afforded.

To Congress General WASHINGTON expressed his sense of the heroick patience with which the troops bore the privations of clothing and provisions through this winter of unusual severity. The extent of these privations will be seen in an extract of a letter written by the Commander in Chief to his friend General Schuyler.

"Since the date of my last we have had the virtue and patience of the army put to the severest trial. Sometimes it has been five or six days together without bread; at other times, as many days without meat; and once or twice, two or three days, without either. I hardly thought it possible at one period, that we should be able to keep it together, nor could it have been done, but for the exertions of the magistrates in the several counties of this State, on whom I was obliged to call; expose our situation to them, and in plain terms declare that we were reduced to the alternative of disbanding or catering for ourselves, unless the inhabitants would afford us their aid. I allotted to each county a certain proportion of flour or grain, and a certain number of cattle, to be delivered on certain days, and for the honour of the magistrates, and good disposition of the people, I must add, that my requisitions were punctually complied with, and in many

counties exceeded. Nothing but this great exertion could have saved the army from dissolution or starving, as we were bereft of every hope from the commissaries. At one time, the soldiers eat every kind of horse food but hay. Buck wheat, common wheat, rye, and Indian corn, composed the meal which made their bread. As an army they bore it with the most heroick patience; but sufferings like these accompanied with the want of clothes, blankets, &c. will produce frequent desertion in all armies, and so it happened with us, though it did not excite a single mutiny."

The frost of this winter was excessive. For six weeks together, the waters about New-York were covered with ice, of sufficient thickness to admit the passage of large armies with wagons and the heaviest pieces of artillery. The city, of consequence, in many places, became assailable. The vigilant and active mind of General WASHINGTON, with mortification, saw an opportunity to attack his enemy which he was unable to embrace. The British force in New-York, in numbers, exceeded his own, and the want of clothing and provision rendered it impossible to move his troops upon an extensive enterprise. An attempt to surprise a post on Staten Island failed.

CHAPTER VII.

Amount of Paper Emission—Congress destitute of Means to support the War—Supplies apportioned upon the States—Exertions of the Commander in Chief—Mutiny in a part of the Army—The British make an Excursion into New-Jersey—The American Troops bravely resist them—The Court of France promises a Naval and Land Armament to act in America—Preparation to co-operate with it—A French Squadron arrives on the American Coast—Count Rochambeau lands at Newport with five thousand Men—The American and French Commanders meet at Hartford to settle the Plan of the Campaign—The Second Division of the French Troops fails—General Arnold becomes a Traitor—He Corresponds with Major Andre—Andre comes on Shore at West Point—Attempts to return to New-York by land—He is taken into Custody by three Militia Men—A Board of General Officers condemn him—He is executed—Letter of General Washington on the State of the Army—Congress adopts a Military Establishment for the War—The Army goes into Winter Quarters.

1780. Two hundred millions of dollars in paper currency were at this time in circulation, upon the credit of the United States. Congress had the preceding year solemnly pledged the faith of government not to emit more than this sum. The National Treasury was empty. The requisitions of Congress for money by taxes, assessed by the authority of the States, were slowly complied with, and the supplies of money, in this way obtained, bore no proportion to the expenses of the war.

A novel state of things was in consequence introduced. Congress, the head of the Nation, had no command of the resources of the country. The power of taxation, and of every coercive measure of government, rested with the State Sovereignties. The only power left with the National Council was, to apportion supplies of provision for the army, as well as recruits of men, upon the several States.

The military establishment for 1780, consisted of thirty-five thousand, two hundred and eleven men. No

portion of these was to be raised by the authority of Congress, but in the whole transaction an absolute dependence was placed on the agency of the States. Upon the States also specifick articles of provision, spirits, and forage, were apportioned for the subsistence of the army. Congress gave assurances that accurate accounts should be kept, and resolved, "That any State which shall have taken the necessary measures for furnishing its quota, and have given notice thereof to Congress, shall be authorized to prohibit any Continental Quarter Master, or Commissary from purchasing within its limits."

General WASHINGTON greatly lamented the necessity of managing the war by State authorities. He freely suggested to Congress the defects of their system, defects which would prevent the attainment of competent and seasonable supplies for the troops The estimate, he observed, in all articles was below the ordinary demand, the time of reception was left in a vague manner; and no provision was made for extraordinary exigencies. No means were adopted to obtain for the use of the army any surplus of produce, which a particular State might conveniently supply, beyond its apportionment; but a State under this predicament was authorized to prohibit the National Commissary from purchasing such surplusage, whatever might be the publick wants. To a friend in Congress, he in a private letter thus freely expressed his opinion.

"Certain I am, that unless Congress speaks in a more decisive tone; unless they are vested with powers by the several States, competent to the great purposes of the war, or assume them as matter of right and they, and the States respectively act with more energy than they hitherto have done; that our cause is lost. We can no longer drudge on in the old way. By ill timing the adoption of measures, by delays in the execution of them, or by unwarrantable jealousies, we incur enormous expenses, and derive no benefit

from them. One State will comply with a requisition from Congress, another neglects to do it, and a third executes it by halves; and all differ in the manner, the matter, or so much in point of time, that we are always working up hill; and, while such a system as the present one, or rather want of one prevails, we ever shall be unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage.

"This, my dear sir, is plain language to a member of Congress, but it is the language of truth and friendship. It is the result of long thinking, close application, and strict observation. I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into thirteen; and instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controlling power of the United States, considering themselves as dependent on their respective States. In a word, I see the power of Congress declining too fast for the consequence and respect which are due to them as the great representative body of America, and am fearful of the consequences."

Although General WASHINGTON had weighty objections to the plan of Congress, he exerted himself to carry it into effect. His personal influence was greater than that of any other man in the union, and this new order of things required its full exercise. He wrote to the Executives and Legislatures of the several States, stating the critical situation of publick affairs, pointing out the fatal consequences that must flow from the inattention and neglect of those who alone possessed the power of coertion, and urging them by all the motives of patriotism and self-interest to comply with the requisitions of Congress. But each of the States felt its own burdens, and was dilatory in its efforts to promote a general interest. A system, which in its execution required the conjoint agency of thirteen Sovereignties, was too complex for the prompt operations of a military body.

In the course of the winter forage had failed, and

many of the horses attached to the army had died, or were rendered unfit for use. General WASHINGTON therefore struggled with almost insuperable difficulties in supplying the army. He possessed no means to transport provisions from a distance but by impressment, and to this painful and oppressive mode, he was obliged frequently to recur. The unbounded confidence placed in his patriotism, wisdom, and prudence, enabled him to carry these measures into effect, among a people tenacious of individual rights, and jealous of the encroachment of power.

The pay of the officers of the army had scarcely more than a nominal value. They were unable to support the appearance of gentlemen, or to furnish themselves with the conveniences which their situation required. The pride essential to the soldier was deeply wounded, general dissatisfaction manifested itself, and increased the perplexities of the Commander in Chief. The officers of whole lines belonging to some of the States in a body, gave notice that on a certain day, they should resign their commissions, unless provision was made for their honourable support. The animated representation of the danger of this rash measure to that country in whose service they had heroically suffered, induced them to proffer their services as volunteers until their successors should be appointed. This, their General without hesitation rejected, and the officers reluctantly consented to remain in the army.

A statement of the great difficulties which the General encountered, led Congress to depute a Committee of their body to camp, to consult with him upon measures necessary to be adopted to remove the grievances of the army. This Committee reported, "That the army was unpaid for five months; that it seldom had more than six days provision in advance, and was on several occasions for several successive days, without meat; that the army was destitute of forage; that

the medical department had neither sugar, tea, chocolate, wine, or spirituous liquors of any kind; that every department of the army was without money, and had not even the shadow of credit left; that the patience of the soldiers, borne down by the pressure of complicated sufferings, was on the point of being exhausted."

Congress possessed not the means to apply adequate remedies to these threatening evils. They passed a resolution, which was all they could do, "That Congress will make good to the line of the army, and to the independent corps thereof, the deficiencies of their original pay, which had been occasioned by the depreciation of the continental currency; and that money or other articles heretofore received, should be considered as advanced on account, to be comprehended in the settlement finally to be made." This resolution was published in general orders, and produced a good effect; but did not remove the complaints of officers or men. The promise of future compensation from a country, whose neglect was conceived to be the source of all their sufferings, they deemed a feeble basis of dependence, at the moment they were severely pressed by privations of every kind.

MARCH 25. Murmurs at length broke out into actual mutiny. Two of the Connecticut regiments paraded under arms announcing the intention to return home, or by their arms to obtain subsistence. The other regiments from Connecticut although they did not join in the revolt, exhibited no inclination to aid in suppressing the mutineers but by the spirited and prudent exertions of the officers, the ringleaders were secured, and the regiments brought back to their duty.

The perplexities of a General, who commands an army in this situation, are not to be described. When the officers represented to the soldiery the greatness of the cause in which they were engaged, and stated the late resolution of Congress in their favour, they

answered, that for five months they had received no pay, and that the depreciated state of the currency would render their pay of no value when received; they wanted present relief, and not promises of distant compensation; their sufferings were too great to be supported; and they must have immediate and substantial recompense for their services. To the complaints of the army were joined murmurs of the inhabitants of New-Jersey, on account of the frequent requisitions unavoidably made upon them.

These disaffections were carried to New-York with the customary exaggerations of rumour. General Knyphausen, the commanding officer at that post, supposing the American citizens and soldiers ripe for revolt, passed over into New-Jersey with five thousand men, to avail himself of favourable events,

JUNE 6. and probably with the intention to drive General WASHINGTON from his camp at Morristown. He took the road to Springfield, and the behaviour of the Americans soon convinced him, he had been deceived in the report of their disaffected and mutinous disposition. The troops detached from the army to oppose his progress, fought with obstinate bravery; and the inhabitants seizing their arms with alacrity, emulated the spirit and persevering courage of the regular soldier. The enemy finding he must encounter serious opposition, halted at Connecticut farms, consigned most of the buildings of that village to the flames, and then retreated to Elizabeth Point, opposite to Staten Island.

While General Knyphausen lay at Elizabeth Point, Sir Henry Clinton, with four thousand men, returned from the conquest of Charleston, South-Carolina, and joined him at that place. On the 23d of June Sir Henry moved by different routes, five thousand infantry, and a large body of cavalry, with twenty pieces of artillery, towards Springfield. General WASHINGTON supposed that his determined object was the de-

struction of the American camp and stores at Morristown. The effective force at this time under his immediate command amounted to little more than three thousand men. Not being able to contend with the enemy, but with the advantage of ground, he made the best disposition of his small force to defend his post, and detached General Green with a thousand men to guard the defiles on the road, and particularly to dispute the enemy's passage of the bridge near Springfield. This service was performed with great military judgment, and with the spirit and efficacy of disciplined courage. When overpowered by numbers, General Green drew up his brave band on the heights back of Springfield. Sir Henry Clinton was not disposed to attack him in his strong position, nor to encounter the danger of proceeding to Morristown, and leaving Green in his rear; he therefore relinquished the object of his expedition, and, burning the town of Springfield, returned to New-York.

General Washington keenly felt this insult offered to his country, and was deeply mortified at his inability to repel it. In a letter to a friend he observed, "You but too well know, and will regret with me the cause which justifies this insulting manœuvre on the part of the enemy. It deeply affects the honour of the States, a vindication of which could not be attempted in our present circumstances, without most intimately hazarding their security; at least so far as it may depend on the security of the army. Their character, their interest, their all that is dear, call upon them, in the most pressing manner to place the army immediately on a respectable footing."

Late in the spring the Marquis La Fayette returned from France with the pleasing intelligence that his government had resolved to assist the United States, by employing, this year, a respectable land and naval force in America.

This grateful information re-animated the publick

mind, and gave a new stimulus to the agency of Congress, and of the governments of the several states; that preparation might be made to co-operate with the French armament on its arrival.

This event excited anew in the breast of the Commander in Chief the mingled emotions of ambition and patriotism. His country having solicited foreign aid, he felt the disgrace she must suffer, should the allies find her in a situation not to second their friendly assistance. He anticipated the deep wound that would be inflicted on his own feelings, should the French Commanders find him the nominal head of a naked, destitute, and inefficient army. To prevent the evils that were apprehended, he addressed a circular letter to the governments of the states, urging them to exertions proportionate to the present prospect of their country, and painting to their view the picture of dishonour and ruin that must arise from the neglect to improve this prosperous tide in their affairs.

Vigorous measures were in consequence adopted by Congress and by the states to recruit the army, to lay up magazines, and to enable their General to comply with the reasonable expectations of their allies; but the agency of different bodies was necessary to carry these publick measures into effect, and their operation was dilatory. On the 20th of June General WASHINGTON informed Congress that the army was yet destitute of many essential articles of clothing. "For the troops," he observed, "to be without clothing at any time is highly injurious to the service, and distressing to our feelings; but the want will be more peculiarly mortifying when they come to act with our allies. If it be possible I have no doubt immediate measures will be taken to relieve their distresses.

"It is also most sincerely to be wished that there would be some supplies of clothing furnished to the officers. There are a great many whose condition is

still miserable. This is, in some instances, the case with the whole lines of states. It would be well for their own sakes, and for the publick good, if they could be furnished. They will not be able, when our friends come to co-operate with us, to go on a common routine of duty; and if they should, they must, from their appearance, be held in low estimation."

In the near prospect of the arrival of the French armaments, the embarrassments of General WASHINGTON increased. His army was not yet in a situation to co-operate with the allies, and he became extremely anxious to know the force on which he might absolutely depend. He wished to attack New-York if the means were in his power. But to concert an attack upon this post with the French commanders, and in the event be unable to execute his part of the engagement, he knew would dishonour the American arms, and expose the French marine force employed in the service, to destruction. Should prudence forbid an attempt upon New-York, his force might be competent to assail some other British post, and it was highly expedient that the plan should be ripened, and all measures prepared for immediate action, the moment the French detachments should reach the continent. The anxiety of the Commander in Chief on this subject was disclosed in the following letter to Congress.

"The season is come when we have every reason to expect the arrival of the fleet, and yet for want of this point of primary consequence, it is impossible for me to form a system of co-operation. I have no basis to act upon; and of course, were this generous succour of our ally now to arrive, I should find myself in the most awkward, embarrassing, and painful situation. The General, and the Admiral, from the relation in which I stand, as soon as they approach our coast, will require of me a plan of the measures to be pursued, and there ought of right to be one prepared; but circumstanced as I am, I can-

not even give them conjectures. From these considerations, I have suggested to the Committee, by a letter I had the honour of addressing them yesterday, the indispensable necessity of their writing again to the states, urging them to give immediate and precise information of the measure they have taken, and of the result. The interest of the states, the honour and reputation of our councils, the justice and gratitude due to our allies, all require that I should without delay be enabled to ascertain, and inform them what we can or cannot undertake. There is a point which ought now to be determined, on the success of which all our future operations may depend, on which for want of knowing our prospects, I can make no decision, for fear of involving the fleet and army of our allies in circumstances which would expose them, if not seconded by us, to material inconvenience and hazard. I shall be compelled to suspend it, and the delay may be fatal to our hopes."

Congress had assured the French Minister, that they would bring this campaign twenty-five thousand men into the field; that to these such detachments of militia should be added as to make a force competent, when supported by a naval armament, to attack any of the British posts. They had also engaged to lay up magazines of provisions adequate to the demands of the armies of the United States, and of any division of French troops, acting in concert with them. On this account the deficiencies of the army lay with the more galling weight upon the mind of General WASHINGTON.

While he was revolving this important subject, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot returned from South-Carolina to New-York, whose garrison now consisted of eleven thousand regular troops. The prospect of successful operations against this post was by the event greatly diminished. In the absence of the British armament it had been proposed by the

American Commander, that the French fleet should, as soon as it reached the American coast, block up the harbour of New-York, and co-operate with the army in the attack upon that place. But in this change of circumstances, he conceived it adviseable that the French squadron should enter the harbour of Newport, land their troops, and there wait until a plan of joint operation should be formed.

At length the first division of French troops reached the American shore, consisting of between five and six thousand men, with a large train of battering and field artillery. These forces were commanded by Count de Rochambeau, whose government had placed him under the command of General WASHINGTON. The Count brought information, that a second division would follow him as soon as transports could be fitted to bring them.

JULY 10.

The principal French and American officers assiduously cultivated a mutual affection between the two armies; and the Commander in Chief recommended to the officers of the United States to ingraft on the American cockade, a white relief, as an emblem of the alliance of the two powers.

At the arrival of the French, the Americans were unprepared to act with them, nor did the American General know what force would ultimately be brought into the field. But it became necessary for him to make arrangements with the French commanders for offensive operations against the enemy, on the arrival of the reinforcements. In this weighty transaction, he consulted the honour and interest of the United States, rather than the existing condition of his army. Confiding in the successful efforts that his countrymen would, on this occasion make, he communicated to Count de Rochambeau, his intention to comply with the engagements into which Congress had entered with the Court of Versailles.

The solicitude of the General on this subject, ap-

pears in the following communication, which at the time he made to the President of Congress "Pressed on all sides by a choice of difficulties, in a moment which required decision, I have adopted that line of conduct which comported with the dignity and faith of Congress; the reputation of these States, and the honour of our arms. I have sent on definitive proposals of co-operation to the French General and Admiral. Neither the period of the season, nor a regard to decency would permit delay. The die is cast: and it remains with the States, either to fulfil their engagements, preserve their credit, and support their independence, or to involve us in disgrace and defeat. Notwithstanding the failure pointed out by the Committee, I shall proceed, on the supposition that they will, ultimately consult their own interest and honour, and not to suffer us to fail for the want of means which it is evidently in their power to afford. What has been done, and is doing by some of the States, confirms the opinion I have entertained of sufficient resources in the country. Of the disposition of the people to submit to any arrangements for bringing them forth, I see no reasonable ground to doubt. If we fail for the want of proper exertions in any of the governments, I trust the responsibility will fall where it ought; and that I shall stand justified to Congress, my country, and the world."

The plan of joint operation was formed upon the presumption, that the French would maintain a naval superiority in the American sea. But soon after the arrival of the French, the British on this station, were reinforced by a squadron superiour to that which convoyed the troops of His Most Christian Majesty. Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Greaves contemplated an attack upon the French in their new station, and after great delay, six thousand troops of the flower of their army were embarked, and supported by the fleet, sailed to Huntingdon Bay. But the commanders here

learning the improved state of the fortifications at Newport, laid aside the expedition. During these movements, General WASHINGTON collected his force and crossed the North River, with the intention to attack New-York, should the British General proceed in his attempt against the French. He confidently expected in this case to establish himself in some commanding position, which would not only compel General Clinton to abandon his enterprise, but also facilitate the success of his operations against the city. The return of Sir Henry induced the American General to recross into New-Jersey, and to post his army at Orangetown. To expedite the meditated operation against New-York, he also took possession of ground about Dobb's ferry, ten miles above King's bridge, and erected works to command the river.

The offensive measures to be pursued by the allies were suspended upon the event of the French naval force in America being reinforced. General WASHINGTON exerted himself to be in the best state of preparation, to embrace any opportunity that might present to annoy the enemy.

At this critical moment, Congress, against the remonstrance of the Commander in Chief, and all his General Officers, introduced those essential changes in the Quarter Master General's department, which induced General Green to resign the office of Quarter Master. Colonel Pickering was appointed his successor, who, in the full exercise of a mind, judicious, active, and indefatigable, found it impossible to execute the business of the department on the plan of Congress.

The stores of the Commissary failing, General WASHINGTON was obliged to open and exhaust the magazines of West Point, and to forage upon the already distressed inhabitants of the country, in the neighbourhood of his camp. These deficiencies at the moment that brilliant achievements were generally expected, gave a presage of disappointment.

The second French armament was daily expected, and General WASHINGTON had ordered a large body of militia into the field; but the difficulty of procuring subsistence led him to countermand the order for their march to camp, although their aid would be essential in the event of active operations.

SEPT. 21. The American and French Commanders met at Hartford to complete the general system of subsequent operations, and they agreed to direct their offensive measures against the British post in New-York.

While expectations of immediate and effectual aid from France were entertained through the United States, information was brought, that the second armament destined for America was blocked up in the harbour of Brest, and would not this season reach the American Continent. The flattering prospect of terminating the war by the conquest of the British posts in a moment vanished; and elevated views of brilliant success were succeeded by disappointment and chagrin. General WASHINGTON himself had admitted the persuasion, that the campaign would end in a decisive manner; and he felt the deepest mortification at its failure. "We are," he observed in a letter to a friend, "now drawing to a close an inactive campaign, the beginning of which appeared pregnant with events of a very favourable complexion. I hoped, but I hoped in vain, that a prospect was opening which would enable me to fix a period to my military pursuits, and restore me to domestick life The favourable disposition of Spain, the promised succour from France, the combined force in the West Indies, the declaration of Russia, (acceded to by other powers of Europe, humiliating to the naval pride and power of Great Britain) the superiority of France and Spain by sea in Europe, the Irish claims and English disturbances, formed in the aggregate, an opinion in my breast which is not very susceptible of peaceful dreams, that

the hour of deliverance was not far distant; for that however unwilling Great Britain might be to yield the point, it would not be in her power to continue the contest But alas! These prospects, flattering as they were, have proved delusory; and I see nothing before us but accumulating distress. We have been half of our time without provisions, and are likely to continue so. We have no magazines, nor money to form them. We have lived upon expedients, until we can live no longer. In a word, the history of the war is a history of false hopes and temporary devices, instead of system and economy. It is in vain, however, to look back, nor is it our business to do so Our case is not desperate, if virtue exists in the people, and there is wisdom among our rulers. But to suppose that this great revolution can be accomplished by a temporary army; that this army will be subsisted by state supplies, and that taxation alone is adequate to our wants, is in my opinion absurd, and as unreasonable as to expect an inversion of the order of nature to accommodate itself to our views. If it were necessary, it would be easily proved to any person of a moderate understanding, that an annual army, or any army raised on the spur of the occasion, besides being unqualified for the end designed, is, in various ways, which could be enumerated, ten times more expensive than a permanent body of men under good organization and military discipline; which never was, nor ever will be the case with new troops. A thousand arguments, resulting from experience and the nature of things might also be adduced to prove that the army, if it is to depend on state supplies must disband or starve; and that taxation alone, (especially at this late hour) cannot furnish the means to carry on the war. Is it not time to retract from errour, and benefit from experience? or do we want further proof of the ruinous system, we have pertinaciously adhered to?"

At the time, the country was exhausting its resources, and General WASHINGTON, under innumerable embarrassments exerting every power to obtain an honourable peace, treason entered the strong hold of independence, and planned the destruction of the infant states of America. General Arnold early and warmly embraced the American cause. His enterprising spirit, his invincible fortitude, his heroick and persevering ardour in battle, had exalted his military character in his own country and in Europe. Being incapacitated for the duties of the field, by the wounds he received before Quebeck, and at Saratoga, he was appointed Commandant in Philadelphia, when the British evacuated that city. In this flattering command, he adopted a style of living above his means, and soon found himself loaded with debt. To relieve himself he entered into various schemes of speculation, and was unsuccessful in all. Hollow at heart, he had recourse to fraud and peculation. These practices rendered him odious to the citizens, and gave offence to government. At length formal complaints were lodged against him; and Congress ordered his trial by a Court Martial. By this Court he was found guilty, and sentenced to be reprimanded by the Commander in Chief. The sentence was approved by Congress, and carried into execution by General WASHINGTON. In the gold that was to reward his treason, Arnold expected relief from his pecuniary embarrassments; and his implacable spirit sought its revenge of his country by betraying into the hand of her enemy the post that had been called the Gibraltar of America.

West Point was the first post in importance within the United States. Its great natural strength had been increased by every expense and labour of fortification; and it was an object on which General WASHINGTON perpetually kept his eye. This fortress Arnold selected to give consequence to his apostacy. By the sur-

render of this into the hands of the British commander, he expected to ensure a high price for his treason, and, at the same moment, to inflict a mortal wound upon his country. His measures were artfully adopted to accomplish his perfidious purpose. He obtained a letter from a member of Congress to General WASHINGTON, recommending him to the command of this important post. He induced General Schuyler to mention to the Commander in Chief, his desire to rejoin the army, and his inclination to do garrison duty

At the time General WASHINGTON was moving down to New-York, when Sir Henry Clinton had embarked a large body of troops, with the design to attack the French at Newport, he offered the command of the left wing of the army to General Arnold, who declined on the plea that his wound unfitted him for the active duties of the field; but he intimated a desire to command at West Point. Knowing his ambition for military fame, the General was surprised that Arnold declined this favourable opportunity to distinguish himself; but the purity of his own mind forbade him to suspect an officer of treason, whose blood had been freely shed in the cause of his country, and he gratified him with the solicited command.

Under fictitious names, and in the disguise of mercantile business, Arnold had already opened a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton through Major André, Adjutant General of the British army. To him the British General committed the maturing of Arnold's treason, and to facilitate measures for its execution, the Vulture sloop of war conveyed him up the North river. Under a pass for John Anderson, André came on shore in the night, and had a personal interview with Arnold without the American works. The morning opened upon them before their business was accomplished. Arnold told André that his return on board the Vulture by daylight was impracticable, and that he must be concealed until the next night. For

this purpose he was conducted within an American post, and spent the day with Arnold. In the course of the day a gun was brought to bear on the Vulture, which obliged her to shift her station; and at night the boatmen on this account refused to carry André on board the sloop.

The return to New-York by land, was the only alternative left. To render the attempt the more safe, Major André laid aside his uniform, which he had yet worn under a surtout, and in a plain coat, on horseback, began his journey. He was furnished with a passport signed by Arnold, in which permission was granted to John Anderson "to go to the lines of White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he being on publick service." Alone, and without having excited suspicion, he passed the American guards, and was silently congratulating himself that he had passed all danger, when his imaginary security was disturbed by three militia men, who were scouring the country between the outposts of the hostile armies. They suddenly seized the bridle of his horse, and challenged his business in that place. The surprise of the moment put him off his guard, and instead of showing his pass, he hastily asked the men, "where do you belong?" they answered, "to below," meaning New-York. The Major instantly replied, "so do I." He declared himself to be a British officer, and pressed for permission to proceed on the urgent business on which he was employed.

The mistake was soon apparent, and he offered the men a purse of gold and a valuable gold watch, for permission to pass; and on condition that they would accompany him to the city, he promised them present reward and future promotion. But the patriotism of these yeomen could not be bribed.

They proceeded to search André, and found secreted in his boots, in the hand writing of Arnold, exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences

of West Point, with critical remarks on the works, and other important papers. They conducted their prisoner to Lieutenant Colonel Jameson, who commanded the troops on the lines. Their names were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert. Congress eventually settled on each of them an annual pension of two hundred dollars during life; and presented each with a silver medal, on one side of which was a shield with the inscription "Fidelity;" and on the other the motto "Amor Patriæ."

André still passed as John Anderson, and requested permission to write to General Arnold to inform him that Anderson was detained. The Colonel thoughtlessly permitted the letter to be sent. Colonel Jameson forwarded to General WASHINGTON the papers found on the prisoner, and a statement of the manner in which he was taken. The General was then on his return from Hartford, and the express unfortunately took a road different from that on which he was travelling, and passed him. This occasioned so great loss of time, that Arnold having received André's letter, made his escape on board the Vulture, before the order for his arrest arrived at West Point.

As soon as André thought that time had been given for Arnold to make his escape, he threw off the disguise which was abhorrent to his nature, and assumed his appropriate character of ingenuousness and honour. The express which conveyed the intelligence of his capture, was charged with a letter from him to General WASHINGTON, in which, he declared his name and rank, stated that he had, by order of his General, Sir Henry Clinton, corresponded with Arnold, that his intention was to have met him on neutral ground, and that against his stipulation he had been brought within an American post. Attempting to make his escape from it he had been betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise, and he requested that, "whatever his fate might be, a decency of treatment

might be observed, which would mark, that though unfortunate he was branded with nothing that was dishonourable, and that he was involuntarily an impostor. The decorous and manly deportment of André greatly interested in his favour the American army and nation. He was endowed with properties to conciliate general esteem. His character is thus beautifully painted by the late General Hamilton, who without envy might have contemplated his eminent qualities, for they were not equal to his own. "There was something singularly interesting in the character of André. To an excellent understanding, well improved by education and travel, he united a peculiar elegance of mind and manners, and the advantages of a pleasing person. It is said that he possessed a pretty taste for the fine arts, and had himself attained some proficiency in poetry, musick, and painting. His knowledge appeared without ostentation, and embellished by a diffidence that rarely accompanies so many talents and accomplishments, which left you to suppose more than appeared. His sentiments were elevated and inspired esteem, they had a softness that conciliated affection. His elocution was handsome, his address easy, polite, and insinuating. By his merit he had acquired the unlimited confidence of his General, and was making rapid progress in military rank and reputation. But in the height of his career, flushed with new hopes from the execution of a project the most beneficial to his party that could be devised, he is at once precipitated from the summit of prosperity, sees all the expectations of his ambition blasted, and himself ruined. The character I have given of him is drawn partly from what I saw of him myself, and partly from information. I am aware that a man of real merit is never seen in so favourable a light as through the medium of adversity. The clouds that surround him are so many shades that set off his good qualities. Misfortune cuts down little vanities, that in prosperous times serve as so many

spots in his virtues; and gives a tone to humanity that makes his worth more amiable.

"His spectators, who enjoy a happier lot, are less prone to detract from it through envy; and are much disposed by compassion to give the credit he deserves, and perhaps even to magnify it."

General WASHINGTON referred the case of Major André to a Board of fourteen General officers. Of this Board General Green was President, and the foreign Generals La Fayette and Steuben were members. They were to determine in what character he was to be considered, and what punishment ought to be inflicted. This Board treated their prisoner with the utmost delicacy and tenderness. They desired him to answer no question that embarrassed his feelings But, concerned only for his honour, he frankly confessed he did not come on shore under the sanction of a flag, and stated so fully all facts respecting himself, that it became unnecessary to examine a single witness; but he cautiously guarded against communications which would involve the guilt of others.

The Board reported the important facts in the case, and gave it as their opinion that André was a Spy, and that agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death. His execution took place next day.

André was reconciled to death, but not to the mode of dying, which the laws of war had assigned to persons in his situation. He wished to die as a soldier, not as a criminal. In language, which proved him possessed of the nicest feelings of heroism and honour, he wrote to General WASHINGTON, soliciting that he might not die on a gibbet: but the stern maxims of justice forbade a compliance with the request, although the sensibility of the General was wounded by a refusal.

Major André walked with composure to the place of execution between two American officers. When

he beheld the instrument of his fate, he asked with some emotion, "must I die in this manner?" "It is unavoidable," was the answer. He replied, "I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode;" but immediately added, "it will be but a momentary pang." With a countenance of serenity and magnanimity which melted the heart of every spectator, he mounted the cart. Being asked at the fatal moment if he wished to say any thing, only that "you will witness to the world, that I die like a brave man."

Never, perhaps, did an execution of this kind more deeply interest the finer feelings of human nature.

The General officers, who reported his case, lamented the necessity they were under to advise that as a spy he should be hung; and the heart of General WASHINGTON was wrung with anguish when he signed his death warrant. But the fatal wound that would have been inflicted on the country, had Arnold's treason succeeded, made the sacrifice necessary for the publick safety. The American officers universally discovered a sympathy for the unfortunate sufferer, and the sensibility of the publick was greatly excited on the occasion.

Great, but unavailing endeavours had been used by Sir Henry Clinton to save Major André. Even Arnold had the presumption to write a threatening letter to General WASHINGTON on the subject. The General deigned not to answer his letter, but he conveyed to him his wife and his baggage. The merits and the fate of André gave a darker shade to the baseness and treachery of Arnold, and he became an object of publick detestation and abhorrence. "André," observed General WASHINGTON in a letter to a friend, "has met his fate with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man and gallant officer; but I am mistaken *if at this time* Arnold is undergoing the torments of a mental hell. He wants feeling: from some traits of his character, which have lately come

to my knowledge, he seems to have been so hackneyed in crime, so lost to all sense of honour and shame, that while his faculties still enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there will be no time for remorse."*

Arnold published at New-York, an address to the inhabitants of America, and a proclamation to the officers and soldiers of the American army. In these publications, he attempted to sow the seeds of disaffection to the government among the citizens, and to allure, by the prospect of emolument and promotion, numbers from the army to the British standard; but these publications met with universal indignation and contempt. During the whole period of the revolutionary war, the infamous Arnold was the only American officer who deserted his banners, and turned his sword against the bosom of his country.

On the discovery of the defection of Arnold, General WASHINGTON strengthened the garrison of West Point, and moved the army to a position to support it, should Sir Henry Clinton make an attempt to carry the post. But although he had acquired a correct knowledge of its works, and was assisted by the advice of Arnold, he was not inclined to hazard the assault unaided by plot and stratagem.

The state of the army lay perpetually upon the mind of the Commander in Chief. Not wholly discouraged by former unsuccessful attempts to persuade Congress to adopt a permanent military establishment, he embraced the inactive period of this campaign once more to address that honourable body on this important subject.

* Colonel Hamilton in a private letter to a friend unfolded the practices to which General WASHINGTON here alludes. "This man (Arnold) is in every sense despicable. In addition to the scene of knavery and prostitution during his command in Philadelphia, which the late seizure of his papers has unfolded, the history of his command at West Point is a history of little as well as great villanies. He practised every dirty art of peculation and even stooped to connexions with the sutlers of the garrison to defraud the publick."

His letter was dated as early as August, while exerting himself to be in readiness to co-operate with the French troops, and he observed,

"But while we are meditating offensive operations which may either not be undertaken at all, or being undertaken may fail, I am persuaded Congress are not inattentive to the present state of the army, and will view in the same light with me the necessity of providing in time against a period (the first of January) when one half of our present force will dissolve. The shadow of an army that will remain, will have every motive, except mere patriotism, to abandon the service, without the hope, which has hitherto supported them, of a change for the better. This is almost extinguished now, and certainly will not outlive the campaign, unless it finds something more to rest upon. This is a truth of which every spectator of the distress of the army cannot help being convinced. Those at a distance may speculate differently; but on the spot an opinion to the contrary, judging human nature on the usual scale, would be chimerical.

"The honourable the Committee of Congress, who have seen and heard for themselves, will add their testimony to mine; and the wisdom and justice of Congress cannot fail to give it the most serious attention. To me it will appear miraculous, if our affairs can maintain themselves much longer in their present train. If either the temper or resources of the country will not admit of an alteration, we may expect soon to be reduced to the humiliating condition of seeing the cause of America, in America, upheld by foreign arms. The generosity of our allies has a claim to all our confidence, and all our gratitude; but it is neither for the honour of America, nor for the interest of the common cause, to leave the work entirely to them."

After assigning his reasons for the opinion that Great Britain would continue the war he proceeds,

"The inference from these reflections is, that we cannot count upon a speedy end to the war; and that it is the true policy of America not to content herself with temporary expedients, but to endeavour, if possible, to give consistency and validity to her measures. An essential step to this will be immediately to devise a plan and put it in execution, for providing men in time to replace those who will leave us at the end of the year, and for subsisting and for making a reasonable allowance to the officers and soldiers.

"The plan for this purpose ought to be of general operation, and such as will execute itself. Experience has shown that a peremptory draught will be the only effectual one. If a draught for the war or for three years can be effected, it ought to be made on every account; a shorter period than a year is inadmissible.

"To one who has been witness to the evils brought upon us by short enlistments, the system appears to have been pernicious beyond description; and a crowd of motives present themselves to dictate a change. It may easily be shown that all the misfortunes we have met with in the military line are to be attributed to this cause.

"Had we formed a permanent army in the beginning, which, by the continuance of the same men in service, had been capable of discipline, we never should have had to retreat with a handful of men across the Delaware, in 1776, trembling for the state of America, which nothing but the infatuation of the enemy could have saved; we should not have remained all the succeeding winter at their mercy, with sometimes scarcely a sufficient body of men to mount the ordinary guards, liable at every moment to be dissipated, if they had only thought proper to march against us; we should not have been under the necessity of fighting at Brandywine, with an unequal number of raw troops, and afterwards of seeing Philadelphia fall a prey to a victorious army; we should not have been at

Valley Forge with less than half the force of the enemy, destitute of every thing, in a situation neither to resist nor to retire; we should not have seen New-York left with a handful of men, yet an overmatch for the main army of these states, while the principal part of their force was detached for the reduction of two of them; we should not have found ourselves this spring so weak as to be insulted by five thousand men, unable to protect our baggage and magazines, their security depending on a good countenance, and a want of enterprise in the enemy; we should not have been the greatest part of the war inferiour to the enemy, indebted for our safety to their inactivity, enduring frequently the mortification of seeing inviting opportunities to ruin them, pass unimproved for want of a force which the country was completely able to afford; to see the country ravaged, our towns burnt, the inhabitants plundered, abused, murdered with impunity from the same cause.

"There is every reason to believe the war has been protracted on this account. Our opposition being less, made the successes of the enemy greater. The fluctuation of the army kept alive their hopes; and at every period of the dissolution of a considerable part of it, they have flattered themselves with some decisive advantages. Had we kept a permanent army on foot, the enemy could have had nothing to hope for, and would, in all probability, have listened to terms long since. If the army is left in its present situation, it must continue an encouragement to the efforts of the enemy; if it is put in a respectable one, it must have a contrary effect, and nothing I believe will tend more to give us peace the ensuing winter. It will be an interesting winter. Many circumstances will contribute to a negotiation. An army on foot, not only for another campaign, but for many campaigns, would determine the enemy to pacifick measures, and enable us to insist upon favourable terms in forcible language

An army insignificant in numbers, dissatisfied, crumbling to pieces, would be the strongest temptation they could have to try the experiment a little longer. It is an old maxim, that the surest way to make a good peace, is to be prepared for war."

Congress having at length resolved to new model the army, determined upon the number of regiments of infantry and cavalry, which should compose their military establishment, and apportioned upon the several states their respective quotas. The states were required to raise their men for the war, and to have them in the field by the first of the next January: but provision was made, that if any state should find it impracticable to raise its quota by the first of December, this state might supply the deficiency by men engaged to serve for a period not short of one year.

This arrangement of Congress was submitted to the Commander in Chief, and his opinion desired upon it. He in a respectful manner stated his objections to the plan. The number of men contemplated was, he conceived, too small, and he proposed that the number of privates in each regiment should be increased. Instead of distinct regiments of cavalry, he recommended legionary corps, that the horse might always be supported by the infantry attached to them. He deplored the necessity of a dependence on state agency to recruit and support the army, and lamented that Congress had made provision for the deficiency of any state to procure men for the war, to be supplied by temporary draughts; because, he conceived that the states upon the urgent requisition of Congress, would have brought their respective quotas into the field for the war; but the provision for deficiency being made, their exertions would be weak, and the alternative generally embraced. He warmly recommended honourable provision for the officers.

The repeated remonstrances of General Washington, supported by the chastisements of experience,

finally induced Congress to lay aside their jealousy of a standing army, and to adopt a military establishment for the war.

The expected superiority of the French at sea failing, the residue of the campaign passed away without any remarkable event. The hostile armies merely watched each other's motions, until the inclemency of the season forced them into winter quarters. The Pennsylvania line wintered at Morristown; the Jersey line about Pompton on the confines of New-York and New-Jersey; and the troops belonging to the New-England States at West Point and its vicinity, on both sides of the North river. The New-York line had previously been stationed at Albany, to oppose any invasion that might be made from Canada, and here it remained through the winter.

END OF VOLUME I.

THE

LIFE OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

COMMANDER IN CHIEF

OF THE

American Army,

THROUGH THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR;

AND THE

FIRST PRESIDENT

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

BY AARON BANCROFT, D. D.

PASTOR OF A CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN WORCESTER

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

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LIFE

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER VIII.

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1781. ARNOLD, having been appointed a Brigadier General in the British army, was with about sixteen hundred men detached to invade Virginia. With his armed ships he sailed up James' river, and at Richmond and other places destroyed publick and private property to a great amount. He at length indicated a design to establish a permanent post at Portsmouth.

The French fleet since its arrival on the American coast had been blocked up in the harbour of Newport, and the land forces had remained inactive in that town. But about this time the British blockading squadron suffered by a violent storm, and a temporary superiority was given to the French.

General WASHINGTON thought that a fair opportu

nity presented to strike a decisive blow at the British detachment in Virginia, and to obtain the person of Arnold. In pursuance of this scheme, the General detached the Marquis La Fayette to Virginia with twelve hundred of the American infantry: at the same time he requested the co-operation of the French from Rhode Island. The commanding officers gladly embraced the opportunity to engage in active services, that might prove advantageous to their American allies.

On the death of Admiral Ternay, at Newport, the command of the fleet devolved on Destonches. In compliance with the request of General Washington, he sailed with his whole squadron for the Chesapeak, having eleven hundred land troops on board. The British Admiral Arbuthnot having repaired the damages sustained by the storm, immediately followed the French, and on the 25th an action took place between the two hostile fleets. The battle ended without loss to either fleet, but the fruits of victory were on the side of the English. The joint expedition was frustrated, the French returned to Newport, and Arnold was rescued from the fate which he merited.

March 8.

The winter of 1781 in a degree renewed the privations and sufferings of the American army. The men were badly clothed and scantily fed; and they had served almost a year without pay. Without murmuring they long endured their accumulated distresses. But the fortitude of the firmest men may be worn down. Disheartened by their sufferings, despairing of relief, and dissatisfied, that their country did not make more effectual exertions for their support, the spirit of mutiny broke out with alarming appearances.

The Pennsylvania line stationed at Morristown, with the exception of three regiments, revolted. On a concerted signal, the non-commissioned officers and privates turned out with their arms, and announced the

design of marching to the seat of Congress, there to demand a redress of their intolerable grievances. The mutiny defied opposition. In the attempt to quell it, one officer was killed, and several dangerously wounded. General Wayne, in a threatening attitude, drew his pistol, the mutineers presented their bayonets to his breast and said, "General, we love and respect you, but if you fire, you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy, on the contrary if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever; but we will no longer be amused, we are determined on obtaining what is our just due." Thirteen hundred of them, under officers of their own election, marched in order for Princeton with their arms and six field pieces. They committed no other act of violence, than to demand of the inhabitants provisions for their necessary support.

Congress sent a Committee of their own body to confer with them. They demanded the redress of their grievances as the basis of accommodation. Sir Henry Clinton sent out agents to invite them to his standard, promising them more advantageous terms than those demanded of Congress. They with indignation rejected his proposals, and delivered over his emissaries to General Wayne, who hanged them as spies. President Reed offered the mutineers a purse of a hundred guineas as a reward for the surrender of the British emissaries. This they refused, declaring that "what they had done was only a duty they owed their country, and they neither desired, nor would receive any reward but the approbation of that country, for which they had so often fought and bled."

The Council of Pennsylvania appointed Mr. Reed, their President, and General Potter, a Committee to compromise with the soldiery, to whom the gentlemen from Congress transferred their powers. The Committee felt themselves compelled to yield more to the demands of these soldiers in a state of mutiny, than

would have retained them quietly in their ranks, had the government of Pennsylvania seasonably attended to their pressing wants. Most of the artillerists, and many of the infantry were discharged, because their time of service was vaguely expressed in the orders under which they had enlisted. The residue received furloughs for forty days; and the whole line was, for this period, absolutely dissolved.

The evil did not rest with the troops of Pennsylvania. Some of the Jersey brigade at Pompton caught their complaining spirit, and imitated their mutinous example. The mutineers were mostly foreigners, and they made the same claims upon the country, which had been granted to the Pennsylvania line.

The former instance of mutiny had taken place at a distance from head quarters, and General WASHINGTON, upon serious deliberation, had resolved, not to hazard his authority as Commander in Chief, in the attempt to bring the revolters to order by the influence of his personal character; but to leave the delicate transaction with the civil government of the state, and he was satisfied with the result. But he perceived the importance of arresting the progress of a spirit, which threatened the dissolution of his army. Relying on the firmness and patriotism of the New-England battalions, which were composed almost exclusively of native Americans, he determined to reduce the Jersey revolters to unconditional subjection. General Howe was detached on this service, which he promptly performed. Two or three of the ringleaders were executed on the spot, and complete subordination was restored in the brigade.

The mutiny was suppressed, but causes of uneasiness remained, and these were not confined to the army. The money received into the national treasury from taxes imposed by state authorities, bore no proportion to the publick expense. The magazines were exhausted, and the states were so deficient in fur

nishing provisions for the army, that supplies of every description were of necessity obtained by impressment. Publick credit being gone, the certificates of property in this manner taken, were considered of little value, and general uneasiness and murmuring ensued. These evils threatened the destruction of the army, and the loss of the American cause, unless a vital remedy was speedily applied to the publick disease.

The Court of London became intimately acquainted with the interiour situation of the United States, and in consequence entertained sanguine expectations of a complete conquest of the States south of the Hudson. The letters of Lord George Germaine to Sir Henry Clinton, which were written at this period, urged him in the strongest language, to embrace the favourable opportunity to disperse the remnant of General WASHINGTON's army, and to push his conquest of the revolted colonies.

The spring of 1781 opened a gloomy prospect to the Commander in Chief. Congress had made a requisition upon the several states for an army consisting of thirty-seven thousand men. In May, the states, from New-Jersey to New-Hampshire inclusive, had not in the field more than seven thousand infantry. The men were generally new recruits, and time had not been given to discipline them. The cavalry and artillery, at no period during the campaign, amounted to one thousand men. Supplies of provisions were greatly deficient, and the soldiers were almost naked, the clothing for the army, expected from Europe, not having arrived. The Quarter Master's department had neither funds nor credit, and the transportation of stores could be made only by impressments, aided by a military force. Measures of this violent nature excited great uneasiness among the inhabitants; and General WASHINGTON expected that actual resistance would be made to them. These difficulties had been foreseen by the Commander in Chief, and he had made

every possible exertion to obviate them. He had repeatedly made known the urgent wants of the army to Congress and to the states, and had sent officers of the greatest influence into the respective governments to enforce his statements.

The mind of General WASHINGTON sunk not under his embarrassments. He had fully reflected upon the dangers incident to his situation, and his resolution rose to meet them. While pondering upon his desperate prospects, he received the grateful intelligence, that the government of France had loaned the United States six millions of livres, a part of which sum was advanced in arms and clothing for the army; and a part paid to the draughts of General WASHINGTON. Information was also given, that this government had resolved to employ a respectable fleet in the American seas the next summer.

The plan of vigorous operations was resumed, and it was determined by General WASHINGTON and the French commanders, that New-York should be the first object of their attack. On this occasion the Commander in Chief addressed letters to the Executives of the New-England states, and of New-Jersey, earnestly calling upon them to fill up their battalions, and to furnish their quotas of provision.

The near prospect of terminating the war animated these States to unusual exertions. The number of men indeed fell short of the requisition of Congress; but effectual measures were adopted to supply the army with provisions. Under the system of state requisition, meat, spirit, and salt were drawn from New England. A convention of delegates from these states met at Providence and adopted a system of monthly supplies, through the campaign. As soon as this plan could be carried into operation, the supplies of these articles were regular and competent.

Requisitions of flour were made from New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania. New-York and New-

Jersey, having been much exhausted by the depredations of the enemy, and by the necessary impressments of the American army, the chief dependence for this essential article was placed on Pennsylvania. The Legislature of the state was not vigorous in its measures, and a scarcity of flour was apprehended.

At this period, Mr. Robert Morris of Philadelphia, a member of Congress from that state, a merchant of much intelligence and enterprise, was entrusted with the management of the finances of the United States To him the Legislature of Pennsylvania transferred the taxes appropriated to furnish the requisitions of Congress upon that state; and he in consequence contracted to supply the national requisition. By his personal agency and credit, he established temporary funds, amply supplied the army with flour, and furnished the Quarter Master General with the means effectually to execute the duties of his department. Through the campaign the movements of the army were made with facility and expedition.

In June, the French troops marched from Newport to the Head Quarters of the American army. As they approached the North river, General WASHINGTON laid a plan to surprise the British works at King's bridge On the night of the 2d of July, the plan was to be carried into execution. At this time it was expected Count Rochambeau would reach the scene of action, to assist in maintaining the ground, which the American troops might gain. To secure his co-operation, the Commander in Chief sent an Aid to the Count requesting him to direct his route to King's bridge, and to regulate his march in such a manner as to be at that place by the specified time.

To mask the design, and to give a reason for the movement of the American army, which might not excite the suspicion of the British Commander, General WASHINGTON, in orders on the 30th of June mentioned that a junction with the French troops might

soon be expected. He, in subsequent orders, gave information "that the French army would not come to that ground, and as the General was desirous of showing all the respect in his power to those generous allies, who were hastening with the zeal of friends, and the ardour of soldiers, to share the fatigues and dangers of the campaign, he proposed to receive them at some other more convenient place; and for this purpose would march the whole line of the American army at three in the morning."

General Lincoln was appointed to command the detachment, which was to assail the works at King's bridge, and on the night of the 1st of July, he embarked in boats at Teller's point, and with muffled oars passed down the North river, undiscovered, to Dobb's ferry. At this place his boats and his men were concealed. He reconnoitred the works to be attacked, and found that a British detachment which had been some time in New-Jersey, had returned, and was encamped in force on the north end of York Island, and that an armed ship was in such a manner, stationed in the river, as to render it impossible for the American boats, without discovery, to approach the landing place. The attempt upon the enemy was of course relinquished

General WASHINGTON extended his orders to an enterprise, to be carried into effect, should the attempt on King's bridge fail. This was to bear off a corps of emigrants which, under the command of Colonel Delancy, was posted above the British. The execution of this plan was left principally with the French, and General Lincoln was directed to take a position that would prevent the retreat of Delancy, and protect the flanks of the French from the British reinforcements from the Island. But the French troops did not in season reach the scene of action, and this scheme also failed. At day light a sharp skirmish took place between General Lincoln and a party of British light

troops. These retreated to York Island as General WASHINGTON approached, who had moved the army to support his detachments, and to follow up any advantage they might gain. On the sixth of July, Count Rochambeau joined the American army at Dobb's ferry.

Early in August Count de Barrass, who had succeeded to the command of the French fleet at Rhode Island, informed General WASHINGTON, that the Count de Grasse was to have sailed from the West Indies the 3d of that month for the Chesapeak, with twenty-five ships of the line, and three thousand land troops.

It became necessary to determine absolutely on the plan of operation. The battalions in the army, under the immediate command of General WASHINGTON were not full; it was known that the garrison at New-York had received a very considerable reinforcement; and the French marine officers appeared not ardent in the plan to attack the harbour of this city.

For these considerations General WASHINGTON determined to relinquish the attempt on New-York, and to march to Virginia to lay siege to the post of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. Having resolved on this plan, he in a private manner adopted measures for its execution.

The defence of West Point and of the other posts on the Hudson was committed to General Heath, and a large portion of the troops raised in the Northern States was for this service left under his command. General WASHINGTON resolved in person to conduct the Virginia expedition. The troops under Count Rochambeau, and strong detachments from the American army, amounting to more than two thousand men, and consisting of the light infantry, Lamb's artillery and several other corps were destined for this expedition. By the 25th of August the whole body, American and French, had crossed the North river.

An intercepted letter of General WASHINGTON'S, in

which he communicated, as the result of a consultation with the French commanders, the design to attack New-York, had excited the apprehensions of the British General for the safety of that city. This apprehension was kept alive, and the real object of the Americans concealed, by preparations for an encampment in New-Jersey opposite to Staten Island, by the rout of the American army, and other appearances indicating an intention to besiege New-York; and the troops had passed the Delaware out of reach of annoyance, before Sir Henry suspected their destination.

General WASHINGTON pressed forward with the utmost expedition, and at Chester he received
SEPT. 3. the important intelligence, that Count de Grasse had arrived with his fleet in the Chesapeak, and that the Marquis St. Simon had, with a body of three thousand land forces, joined the Marquis La Fayette. Having directed the route of his army from the head of Elk, he, accompanied by Rochambeau, Chatelleux, Du Portail, and Knox, proceeded to Virginia. They reached Williamsburg the 14th of September, and immediately repaired on board the Ville de Paris, to settle with Count de Grasse the plan of operation.

SEPT. 15. The Count afterwards wrote General WASHINGTON, that, judging his confined situation to be unfavourable for a naval engagement, he should sail to meet the English at sea or to block them up in the harbour of New-York. General WASHINGTON apprehending that the successful issue of the expedition, which he had conceived morally certain, might by this measure be defeated, sent a despatch by the Marquis La Fayette to the Count, to dissuade him from it. The Count consented to conform himself to the wishes of the American General, and remained at anchor in the bay of the Chesapeak.

The whole body of American and French troops reached Williamsburg by the 25th of September. At

this place the allied forces were joined by a detachment of the militia of Virginia, under the command of Governour Nelson. Preparations were soon made to besiege Yorktown.

The rivers, York and James, form a long and narrow peninsula, and Lord Cornwallis had chosen a position on the south side of York river as a military post, and had strongly fortified it. Opposite to Yorktown on the north shore is Gloucester Point, which projects into the river, and at this place reduces its width to one mile. This point his Lordship also possessed, and fortified. Between these posts the river is deep, and ships of the line may here ride in safety. The communication between Yorktown and Gloucester Point was defended by batteries on shore, and by several armed ships in the river. The body of the British army was encamped about Yorktown, within a range of redoubts and field works, erected to command the peninsula, which at this place is not more than eight miles wide, and to impede the approach of an assaulting enemy. Colonel Tarleton with six or seven hundred men defended Gloucester.

On the 28th, the main body of the allied army moved down towards Yorktown, driving before them troops of horse, and the piquets of the enemy. The columns, as they reached the ground assigned them, encamped for the night and lay upon their arms. The next day was employed in reconnoitring the enemy's position, in which service Colonel Scammel, an officer of merit, was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. A force consisting of about two thousand French and Americans, under the command of the French General de Choise, was stationed on the north side of the river, to watch and restrain the enemy in Gloucester.

The French and Americans were employed until the 6th of October, in conveying their artillery and stores from the landing place to camp. On the night of that day, they broke ground within six hundred

yards of the British lines; and the first parallel was completed with little loss. On the 9th and 10th, guns were mounted on the works, and the batteries began to play, with visible effect, on the lines of the enemy. Many of their guns were soon silenced, and their works damaged. By the 11th, the enemy scarcely returned a shot. The shells and red hot balls of the besiegers reached the British shipping in the river, and set the Charon frigate of forty-four guns, and several large transports on fire, which were entirely consumed. A spirit of emulation animated the troops of both nations, and the siege was prosecuted with vigour and effect. On the night of the 11th, the second parallel was begun within three hundred yards of the British lines. The working parties were not discovered until daylight, when the trenches were in a situation to cover the men. Three days were spent in completing the batteries of this parallel, which time the British indefatigably employed upon their lines. They opened new embrasures, and their fire was more destructive than at any previous period of the siege. Two redoubts in particular, advanced in front of the British lines, and which flanked the second parallel of the Americans, gave great annoyance; and it was deemed necessary to carry them by storm.

To prevent national jealousy, and to keep alive the spirit of emulation, the attack of one was assigned to the American troops, and that of the other to the French. The Marquis La Fayette commanded the American detachment consisting of light infantry, which was designed to act against the redoubt near the river, and the Baron de Viominel, with the grenadiers and chasseurs of his nation, was ordered to storm the redoubt nearer to the British right. Colonel Hamilton, who through this campaign commanded a battalion of light infantry, led the advanced corps of the Americans to the assault, while Colonel Laurens turned the redoubt and attacked in the rear, to pre-

vent the retreat of the garrison. Without giving time for the abattis to be removed, and without firing a gun, the Americans gallantly assaulted, and instantly carried the works. Their loss was one sergeant and eight privates killed; and six officers, and twenty-six rank and file wounded. The garrison was commanded by a Major, and consisted of about fifty men. Of these, eight privates were killed, a few individuals escaped, and the residue were made prisoners.*

The redoubt attacked by the French was garrisoned by one hundred and twenty men, it made more resistance and was overcome at the loss of near one hundred men. Of the garrison eighteen were killed, and three officers and about forty privates were made prisoners.

The Commander in Chief was highly pleased with the gallantry of the attacking troops on this occasion. In general orders he congratulated the army on the success of the enterprise, and thanked the troops for their cool and intrepid conduct. "The General reflects," conclude the orders, "with the highest degree of pleasure, on the confidence which the troops of the two nations must hereafter have in each other. Assured of mutual support, he is convinced there is no danger, which they will not cheerfully encounter, no

* This event took place soon after the wanton slaughter of the men in Fort Griswold in Connecticut by the British. "The irritation of this recent carnage had not so far subdued the humanity of the American character as to induce retaliation. Not a man was killed except in action. 'Incapable,' said Colonel Hamilton in his report, 'of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocation, the soldiery spared every man that ceased to resist.' Mr. Gordon, in his History of the American War, states, the orders given by La Fayette, with the approbation of WASHINGTON, to have directed, that every man in the redoubt, after its surrender, should be put to the sword. These sanguinary orders, so repugnant to the character of the Commander in Chief, and of La Fayette, were never given. There is no trace of them among the papers of General WASHINGTON; and Colonel Hamilton, who took a part in the enterprise, which assures his perfect knowledge of every material occurrence, has publickly contradicted the statement." *Judge Marshall.*

difficulty which they will not bravely overcome." The redoubts were the same night included within the second parallel.

Lord Cornwallis well knew that the fire of the second parallel would soon render his works untenable, and determined to attempt to destroy it. The sortie appointed for this service consisted of three hundred and fifty men, and was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie. With great impetuosity, he attacked two batteries that were in the greatest forwardness and carried them; but the guards from the trenches advancing, he was compelled to retreat without having effected his purpose. A few pieces of cannon were hastily spiked; but they were soon again rendered fit for use. The service was honourable for the officers and men engaged, but the siege was not protracted.

Oct. 15.

By the afternoon of the 16th the British works sunk under the fire of the batteries of the second parallel; in the whole front attacked, they could not show a single gun, and their shells were nearly expended. In this extremity his Lordship adopted the desperate resolution to attempt an escape. Leaving the sick and wounded in his posts, he determined with his efficient force to cross over to Gloucester, disperse the troops under De Choise, mount his troops upon horses that might be found in the country, direct his course to the fords of the Great rivers, and make his way to New-York. For this purpose boats were collected, and other necessary measures taken. On the night of the 16th the first embarcation arrived in safety at Gloucester, but at the moment the boats were returning, a violent storm arose, which forced them down the river. At day-light the storm subsided, and the boats were sent to bring back the soldiers to Yorktown, which with little loss, was accomplished in the course of the forenoon.

On the morning of the 17th, the fire of the Ameri-

can batteries became intolerable, which soon, by its reiterated effects, rendered the British post untenable. Lord Cornwallis, perceiving further resistance to be unavailing, about ten o'clock beat a parley, and proposed a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, that Commissioners might meet to settle the terms on which the posts of York and Gloucester should be surrendered. General WASHINGTON, in his answer, declared his "ardent desire to spare the effusion of blood, and his readiness to listen to such terms as were admissible;" but to prevent loss of time, he desired "that, previous to the meeting of the Commissioners, the proposals of his Lordship might be transmitted in writing, for which purpose a suspension of hostilities for two hours should be granted." The terms proposed by his Lordship, were such as led the General to suppose that articles of capitulation might easily be adjusted, and he continued the cessation of hostilities until the next day. To expedite the business, he summarily stated the terms he was willing to grant, and informed Earl Cornwallis, that if he admitted these as the basis of a treaty, Commissioners might meet to put them into form. Accordingly Viscount de Noailles, and Lieutenant Colonel Laurens on the part of the allies, and Colonel Dundas and Major Ross, on the part of the English, met the next day and adjusted articles of capitulation, which were to be submitted to the consideration of the British General. Resolving not to expose himself to any accident that might be the consequence of unnecessary delay, General WASHINGTON ordered the rough draught of the Commissioners to be fairly transcribed, and sent to Lord Cornwallis early next morning, with a letter, expressing his expectation that the garrison would march out by two o'clock in the afternoon. Hopeless of more favourable terms, his Lordship signed the capitulation, and surrendered the posts of York and Gloucester with their garrisons to General WASHINGTON: and the

shipping in the harbour, with the seamen to Count de Grasse.

The prisoners, exclusive of seamen, amounted to more than seven thousand, of which, between four and five thousand were fit for duty. The garrison lost during the siege, six officers and five hundred and forty-eight privates in killed and wounded. The privates with a competent number of officers were to remain in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania. The officers not required for this service, were permitted on parole to return to Europe, or to any of the maritime posts of the English on the American continent. Lord Cornwallis attempted to introduce into the treaty an article in favour of those Americans who had joined his standard; but General WASHINGTON referred their case to the civil authority. Permission however was granted to his Lordship to send the Bonetta sloop of war, unsearched, to New-York to carry his despatches to Sir Henry Clinton, and in her those Americans went passengers, who had, in the highest degree incurred the resentment of their countrymen. The terms granted to Earl Cornwallis were, in general, the terms which had been granted to the Americans at the surrender of Charleston; and General Lincoln, who on that occasion resigned his sword to Lord Cornwallis, was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army.

The allied army, to which Lord Cornwallis surrendered, amounted to sixteen thousand; seven thousand French, five thousand five hundred continental troops, and three thousand five hundred militia. In the course of the siege, they lost in killed and wounded about three hundred. The siege was prosecuted with so much military judgment and ardour, that the treaty was opened the 11th, and the capitulation signed the 13th day after ground was broken before the British lines. The whole army received the unreserved approbation of the General. But the peculiar services

of particular corps entitled them to special notice. The artillerists and the engineers greatly distinguished themselves. Brigadiers Du Portail and Knox were promoted to be Major Generals. Major Generals Lincoln and the Marquis La Fayette were mentioned with high commendations, and Governour Nelson, who commanded the militia was thanked for his effectual exertions in the field, and in furnishing the army with such articles as his state afforded. To Count Rochambeau, to the French officers and troops, General WASHINGTON expressed his acknowledgments in flattering language.

The British General and Admiral at New-York had not been inattentive to the perilous situation of Lord Cornwallis. Admiral Rodney in the West Indies had early been apprized of the intention of Count de Grasse to visit the American coast; but not supposing that the whole of the French fleet on that station, would be employed on this service, Rodney detached Sir Samuel Hood to the continent with fourteen sail of line of battle ships. Sir Samuel reached the mouth of the Chesapeak before de Grasse, and finding no enemy there, sailed along the coast to Sandy Hook. Admiral Greaves then lay in the harbour of New-York with seven ships of the line. Immediately after the arrival of Hood, intelligence was received that Count de Barrass had sailed from Newport. Admiral Greaves with the whole British squadron without loss of time sailed in pursuit of him, and on the 24th of September he discovered the French fleet under de Grasse consisting of twenty four ships of the line, riding at anchor in the Chesapeak and extending across its entrance. Count de Grasse ordered his ships to slip their cables and form the line of battle. A partial engagement took place, in which some of the English ships were considerably damaged. The hostile fleets manœuvred for four or five days in sight of each other, and Count de Grasse then returned to his anchorage

ground. Here he found Count de Barrass who had taken a wide circuit to avoid the English, and had, while the hostile fleets were at sea, entered the Chesapeak with the squadron from Newport, consisting of five ships and fourteen transports, laden with heavy artillery and military stores for the siege. Admiral Greaves returned to New-York to repair.

In the course of a few days, the British squadron was augmented to twenty-five ships of the line, and Sir Henry Clinton determined to encounter every hazard in the attempt to relieve Earl Cornwallis. He embarked seven thousand of his best troops, and, convoyed by the fleet, sailed on the very day of the capitulation, for Virginia. At the entrance of the Chesapeak, on the 24th of October, he received information of the surrender of his Lordship, and he returned to New York.

The capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army excited universal joy through the United States. In a circuitous route from Charleston to Yorktown, this army had marched eleven hundred miles and had spread terrour and distress through the whole extent. From this dread the country was delivered. The surrender of a second royal army, the Americans deemed an event decisive of the independence of the United States, and which would speedily terminate the war.

The day after the capitulation General Washington ordered, "that those who were under arrest should be pardoned and set at liberty;" and announced, that "Divine service shall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and divisions. The Commander in Chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty do assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart, which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of providence in our favour claims." Congress as soon as they received General Washington's official letter giving information of the event, resolved to go in procession

to the Dutch Lutheran Church, and return thanks to Almighty God for the signal success of the American arms; and they issued a proclamation, recommending to the citizens of the United States to observe the thirteenth of December as a day of Publick Thanksgiving and Prayer. The news of the capture of Earl Cornwallis was every where received with exultation and publick rejoicing.

Congress for this achievement, voted the thanks of the United States to General WASHINGTON, to Count Rochambeau, to Count de Grasse, to the officers of the allied army generally, and to the corps of artillery and engineers in particular. They also resolved that a marble column should be erected at Yorktown in Virginia, bearing emblems of the alliance between the United States and his Most Christian Majesty, and inscribed with a succint narrative of the surrender of the British army under the command of Earl Cornwallis. Two stands of colours taken from the royal troops, were presented to General WASHINGTON, two field pieces to Count Rochambeau; and application was made to the French Court that Count de Grasse might be permitted to accept a testimonial of the approbation of Congress, similar to that which Rochambeau had received.

To the Commander in Chief the most affectionate and respectful addresses were presented by the governments of the states, by the authorities of cities, and by the corporations of literary institutions.

The decided superiority of the allies in naval and land forces, General WASHINGTON wished to direct to the conquest of the British posts at Carolina and Georgia. He addressed a letter to Count de Grasse on this subject, requesting his co-operation in measures directed to these objects. But the Count declined, declaring that the service of his King demanded his immediate return to the West Indies.

Orders were of course issued for the disposition of

the allied armies for the approaching winter. Major General St. Clair was detached with two brigades to South Carolina to reinforce General Green. The French forces remained in Virginia. The Eastern troops embarked early in November for the Head of Elk, under the command of General Lincoln, who was ordered to march them from the place of their landing into New-Jersey and New-York, and to canton them for the winter in those states. Count de Grasse with his fleet sailed for the West Indies, and General WASHINGTON proceeded to Philadelphia.

CHAPTER IX.

Preparations for another Campaign—Sir Guy Carleton arrives at New-York and announces the vote of Parliament to acknowledge American Independence—Army anxious for their Pay—Anonymous Address exciting them to a Revolt—General Washington convenes and addresses the Officers—Their resolutions—Preliminary Articles of Peace received—Cessation of Hostilities proclaimed—General Washington addresses a Circular Letter to the Executives of the Several States—Army disbanded—New Levies of Pennsylvania revolt—The Commander in Chief enters New-York—Takes leave of his Officers—Resigns his Commission to the President of Congress—Retires to Mount Vernon.

1. THE brilliant issue of the last campaign did not relax the vigilance of General WASHINGTON. He deemed it true policy to call forth all the resources of the country, that the United States might be prepared for the conflicts of another year, or, might take a commanding attitude in a negotiation for peace. From Mount Vernon, on his way to the seat of government, he wrote General Green, "I shall attempt to stimulate Congress to the best improvement of our late success, by taking the most vigorous and effectual measures to be ready for an early and decisive campaign the next year. My greatest fear is that, viewing this stroke in a point of light which may too much magnify its importance, they may think our work too nearly closed, and fall into a state of languor and relaxation. To

prevent this errour, I shall employ every means in my power, and, if unhappily we sink into this fatal mistake, no part of the blame shall be mine."

He reached Philadelphia the 27th of November, and on the next day had an audience of Congress. The President informed him that a committee was appointed to arrange the military establishment of the next year, and that he was requested to remain in Philadelphia to assist in this important business. At the consultations of this committee, the Secretary of War, the Minister of Finance, and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs assisted. The arrangements were made with despatch, and on the 10th of December, Congress passed the resolves for the requisitions of men and money for the year 1782 upon the several states; and the personal influence of the Commander in Chief was on this occasion used, to persuade the state governments seasonably to comply with the resolutions of Congress.

1782. The first intelligence from the British government, after the surrender of Earl Cornwallis, indicated a design to continue the American war; but early in May, Sir Guy Carlton arrived at New-York, to supersede Sir Henry Clinton as Commander in Chief of the British army; and he and Admiral Digby were appointed Commissioners to treat with the United States upon terms of peace. He communicated to General WASHINGTON a vote of the British Parliament against the prosecution of the American war; and a bill authorising the King to conclude a peace or truce with the *revolted provinces* of North America. Sir Guy professed his pacifick disposition, and proposed that hostilities should cease, as these would produce individual distress without national advantage. This bill, when Sir Guy left England had not passed into a law, and therefore was not a proper basis of negotiation; and the Commander in Chief continued his defensive preparations

In August Sir Guy officially informed General WASHINGTON, that negotiations for a general peace had commenced at Paris; and that his Britannick Majesty had directed his Minister to propose the Independence of the United States as a preliminary.

The deficiency of the states in paying their respective requisitions of money into the national treasury subjected the Minister of Finance to extreme difficulty; but by anticipating the publick revenue, and by exerting, to the utmost, his personal influence, he was enabled barely to support the army. Neither Officers nor men received any pay. In September Congress contemplated the reduction of their military establishment. By this measure many of the officers would be discharged. In a confidential letter to the Secretary of War, the Commander in Chief expressed a full persuasion, that the gentlemen would gladly retire to private life, could they be reinstated in a situation as favourable as that which they quitted for the service of their country; but added he,

"I cannot help fearing the result of the measure, when I see such a number of men goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past, and of anticipation on the future, about to be turned into the world, soured by penury, and what they call the ingratitude of the publick; involved in debts without one farthing of money to carry them home, after having spent the flower of their days, and many of them, their patrimonies in establishing the freedom and independence of their country; and having suffered every thing which human nature is capable of enduring on this side of death. I repeat it, when I reflect on those irritable circumstances, unattended by one thing to sooth their feelings, or brighten the gloomy prospect, I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow of a very serious and distressing nature.

"I wish not to heighten the shades of the picture so far as the real life would justify me in doing, or I

would give anecdotes of patriotism and distress which have scarcely ever been paralleled, never surpassed in the history of mankind. But you may rely upon it, the patience and long-suffering of this army are almost exhausted, and there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant. While in the field, I think it may be kept from breaking out into acts of outrage; but when we retire into winter quarters, (unless the storm be previously dissipated) I cannot be at ease respecting the consequences. It is high time for a peace."

Although the military services of the field did not require the presence of the Commander in Chief, yet he was induced on account of the irritable state of the army to remain the whole season in camp.

The disquietude of the army arose more from an apprehension, that their country would ultimately fail in the compensation promised them, than from the deficiency of prompt payment.

In October 1780, Congress had passed a resolution, granting half pay to the officers for life; but they had no funds to pledge for the fulfilment of these engagements. Publick opinion seemed to be opposed to the measure, and the pointed opposition by a number of the members of the National Legislature, rendered it doubtful whether a future Congress would feel themselves bound by that resolution. This doubt was strengthened by the consideration that, since the passage of the resolution, the articles of confederation had been adopted, and by these the concurrence of nine states, in Congress assembled, is necessary to the appropriation of publick money. Could absolute confidence be placed in the honour and faith of the National Council, still they must depend on state sovereignties for the ways and means to execute their promises. The country had been greatly deficient to the army, in the time of war, when their services were absolutely necessary. Would this country, amidst the security

and tranquillity of peace, be more just? As the prospects of immediate peace brightened, the attention of the officers became the more engaged to secure a compensation for those services which were the means to establish the independence of their country. In December they presented a memorial to Congress, stating that many of them had expended their private fortunes, and most of them the prime of life in the service of their country, and petitioning that a gross sum might be granted them for the money actually due, and as a commutation for half pay. They chose a committee of officers to present their petition to Congress, and to attend its passage through that honourable body.

At this period, Congress was much divided in opinion upon the most important publick questions. State jealousies and interests arose in opposition to the engagements of the Nation; and although part of Congress, respectable for number and weight of character, acknowledged the merit of the military, and were inclined to do them justice, yet in March, the committee at the seat of government wrote the officers in camp, that no decisive measures were taken upon their petition. At this time, the intelligence arrived that the provisioned articles of peace between the United States and Great Britain were signed. The army viewed the moment as the crisis of their destiny. They recollected their past sacrifices, they felt their present wants, and anticipated future sufferings. Resenting the ingratitude of their country, and apprehending that it would ultimately be unjust, an irritable state of mind ensued, which threatened violences that would tarnish the glory of their own services, and commit the peace of their country.

1783.

On the 10th of March, an anonymous paper was circulated, requesting a meeting at eleven o'clock, on the next day, at the public building, of the general and field officers, of an officer from each company, and a delegate from the medical staff to "consider their late

letter from their representatives in Philadelphia, and what measures (if any) should be adopted to obtain that redress of grievances which they seemed to have solicited in vain."

On the same day, the following publication, artfully addressed to the passions of the officers, and admirably calculated to stimulate them to adopt the desperate measure it recommended, was circulated through the camp.

"*To the Officers of the Army.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"A fellow soldier, whose interest and affections bind him strongly to you, whose past sufferings have been as great, and whose future fortune may be as desperate as yours—would beg leave to address you.

"Age has its claims, and rank is not without its pretensions to advise; but though unsupported by both, he flatters himself, that the plain language of sincerity and experience will neither be unheard nor unregarded.

"Like many of you, he loved private life, and left it with regret. He left it, determined to retire from the field, with the necessity that called him to it, and not until then—not until the enemies of his country, the slaves of power, and the hirelings of injustice, were compelled to abandon their schemes, and acknowledge America, as terrible in arms, as she had been humble in remonstrance. With this object in view, he has long shared in your toils and mingled in your dangers. He has felt the cold hand of poverty without a murmur, and has seen the insolence of wealth without a sigh—but, too much under the direction of his wishes, and sometimes weak enough to mistake desire for opinion, he has, until lately, very lately, believed in the justice of his country. He hoped that as the clouds of adversity scattered, and as the sunshine of peace and better fortune broke in upon us, the coldness and severity of government would relax, and that more

than justice, that gratitude would blaze forth upon those hands which had upheld her in the darkest stages of her passage, from impending servitude to acknowledged independence. But faith has its limits as well as temper, and there are points beyond which neither can be stretched, without sinking into cowardice, or plunging into credulity—This, my friends, I conceive to be your situation—hurried to the very verge of both, another step would ruin you for ever—to be tame and unprovoked when injuries press hard upon you, is more than weakness; but to look up for kinder usage, without one manly effort of your own, would fix your character, and show the world how richly you deserve those chains you broke To guard against this evil, let us take a review of the ground upon which we now stand, and from thence carry our thoughts forward for a moment, into the unexplored field of expedient.

"After a pursuit of seven long years, the object for which we set out is at length brought within our reach —yes, my friends, that suffering courage of yours was active once—it has conducted the United States of America through a doubtful and a bloody war. It has placed her in the chair of independency, and peace returns again to bless—whom? A country willing to redress your wrongs, cherish your worth, and reward your services? A country courting your return to private life, with tears of gratitude, and smiles of admiration, longing to divide with you that independency which your gallantry has given, and those riches which your wounds have preserved? Is this the case? Or is it rather a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries, and insults your distresses? Have you not more than once suggested your wishes, and made known your wants to Congress? Wants and wishes which gratitude and policy should have anticipated rather than evaded; and have you not lately in the meek language of entreating memorials, begged

from their justice, what you could no longer expect from their favour? How have you been answered? Let the letter which you are called to consider to-morrow reply.

"If this, then, be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division? When those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left but your wants, infirmities, and scars? Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honour? If you can—go—and carry with you the jest of tories and the scorn of whigs—the ridicule, and what is worse, the pity of the world. Go, starve, and be forgotten! But if your spirit should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit enough to oppose tyranny, under whatever garb it may assume; whether it be the plain coat of republicanism, or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have not yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles—awake; attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain; and your threats then, will be as empty as your entreaties now.

"I would advise you, therefore, to come to some final opinion upon what you can bear, and what you will suffer. If your determination be in any proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal from the justice to the fears of government. Change the milk and water style of your last memorial; assume a bolder tone—decent, but lively, spirited, and determined, and suspect the man

who would advise to more moderation and longer forbearance. Let two or three men who can feel as well as write, be appointed to draw up your *last remonstrance;* for I would no longer give it the sueing, soft, unsuccessful epithet of memorial. Let it be represented in language that will neither dishonour you by its rudeness, nor betray you by its fears, what has been promised by Congress, and what has been performed—how long, and how patiently you have suffered—how little you have asked, and how much of that little has been denied. Tell them that though you were the first, and would wish to be the last to encounter danger, though despair itself can never drive you into dishonour, it may drive you from the field; that the wound often irritated, and never healed, may at length become incurable; and that the slightest mark of indignity from Congress now must operate like the grave, and part you for ever: that in any political event, the army has its alternative. If peace, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death: if war, that courting the auspices, and inviting the direction of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some unsettled country, smile in your turn, and mock when their fear cometh on. But let it represent also, that should they comply with the request of your late memorial, it would make you more happy, and them more respectable. That while war should continue, you would follow their standard into the field, and when it came to an end you would withdraw into the shade of private life, and give the world another subject of wonder and applause; an army victorious over its enemies—victorious over itself."

The reluctance which Congress manifested to compensate the army for seven years' glorious service, excited a temper too favourable to the purposes of the writer of this intemperate address. Probably the influence of General WASHINGTON alone could have arrested the rising tempest: and his firmness and pru

dence were equal to the occasion. Silence in him would have encouraged the desperate to the prosecution of the most rash design; and strong and violent measures would have enkindled the smothered spark into a destructive flame. Noticing in general orders the anonymous publication, he expressed his confidence that the judgment and patriotism of the army would forbid their "attention to such an irregular invitation, but his own duty," he added, "as well as the reputation and the true interest of the army required his disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings. At the same time, he requested the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army, to assemble at twelve on Saturday the 15th, at the new building, to hear the report of the committee deputed by the army to Congress. After mature deliberation, they will devise what further measures ought to be adopted as most rational and best calculated to obtain the just and important object in view." The senior officer in rank was directed to preside, and to report the result of their deliberations to the Commander in Chief.

The next day a second anonymous address was published. The writer affected to consider the orders of the General as countenancing the convention, recommended in the first publication.

On the 15th the officers met agreeably to orders, and General Gates took the chair. The Commander in Chief then addressed them.

"GENTLEMEN,

"By an anonymous summons an attempt has been made to convene you together. How inconsistent with the rules of propriety, how unmilitary, and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army decide.

"In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was sent into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions than to the judg-

ment of the army. The author of the piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen; and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart; for, as men see through different opticks, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind, to use different means to attain the same end, the author of the address should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance; or in other words, who should not think as he thinks, and act as he advises. But he had another plan in view, in which candour and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice and love of country, have no part; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to effect the blackest design. That the address was drawn with great art, and is designed to answer the most insidious purposes; that it is calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief; that the secret mover of this scheme, whoever he may be, intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed by the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool, deliberative thinking, and that composure of mind which is so necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvious, by the mode of conducting the business, to need other proof than a reference to the proceedings.

"Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to show upon what principles I opposed the irregular and hasty meeting which was proposed to have been held on Tuesday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity, consistent with your own honour, and the dignity of the army, to make known your grievances. If my conduct heretofore has not evinced to you, that I have been a faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and

improper. But as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country; as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on publick duty; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel and acknowledge your merits; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army; as my heart has ever expanded with joy when I have heard its praises, and my indignation has arisen when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it; it can scarcely be supposed at this last stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted? The way is plain, says the anonymous addresser! If war continue, remove into the unsettled country; there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself;—but who are they to defend? Our wives, our children, our farms and other property which we leave behind us? Or in this state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first, (the latter cannot be removed) to perish in a wilderness with hunger, cold, and nakedness?

"If peace takes place, never sheath your swords," says he, "until you have obtained full and ample justice." This dreadful alternative of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless Congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity revolts at the idea. My God! What can this writer have in view, by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather is he not an insidious foe; some emissary, perhaps, from New-York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in ei-

ther alternative, impracticable in their nature? But here, gentlemen, I will drop the curtain, because it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either proposal into execution. There might, gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice, in this address to you, of an anonymous production;—but the manner in which that performance has been introduced to the army; the effect it was intended to have, together with some other circumstances, will amply justify my observation on the tendency of that writing.

"With respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man who shall recommend moderate measures and longer forbearance, I spurn it, as every man who regards that liberty and reveres that justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must; for, if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter. I cannot in justice to my own belief, and what I have great reason to conceive is the intention of Congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion, that that honourable body entertain exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and from a full conviction of its merits and sufferings, will do it complete justice. That their endeavours to discover and establish funds for this purpose have been unwearied, and will not cease until they have succeeded, I have not a doubt.

"But like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, their determinations are slow. Why then should we distrust them And in consequence of that distrust, adopt measures

which may cast a shade over that glory which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which is celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? And for what is this done? To bring the object we seek nearer? No; most certainly, in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself, (and I take no merit in giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity, and justice, and a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me) a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you, under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army have so long had the honour to command, will oblige me to declare in this publick and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe my country, and those powers we are bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost extent of my abilities.

"While I give you these assurances, and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner, to exert whatever abilities I am possessed of in your favour, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures, which viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity, and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained:—let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress; that previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago; and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you, in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honour: as you

respect the rights of humanity; and as you regard the military and national character of America; to express your utmost horrour and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country; and who wickedly attempts to open the floodgates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood.

"By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superiour to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will by the dignity of your conduct afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind—had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining."

In the judgment, honour, and friendship of their General, the officers placed unbounded confidence; and his recommendations carried irresistible weight. The most desperate had not the hardihood to oppose his advice. General Knox moved, and Brigadier General Putnam seconded a resolution, "assuring him that the officers reciprocated his affectionate expressions with the greatest sincerity of which the human heart is capable," which passed unanimously. On motion of General Putnam a committee was then chosen, consisting of General Knox, Colonel Brooks, and Captain Heywood, to prepare resolutions on the business before them. They reported the following resolutions, which on mature deliberation passed unanimously,

"Resolved unanimously, that at the commencement of the present war, the officers of the American army engaged in the service of their country from the purest love and attachment to the rights and liberties of

human nature; which motives still exist in the highest degree; and that no circumstances of distress or danger shall induce a conduct that may tend to sully the reputation and glory which they have acquired, at the price of their blood and eight years faithful services.

"Resolved unanimously, that the army continue to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their country, and are fully convinced that the Representatives of America will not disband or disperse the army until their accounts are liquidated, the balances accurately ascertained, and adequate funds established for payment; and in this arrangement, the officers expect that the half pay, or a commutation for it, should be efficaciously comprehended.

"Resolved unanimously, that his Excellency the Commander in Chief be requested to write to his Excellency the President of Congress, earnestly entreating the most speedy decision of that honourable body upon the subject of our late address, which was forwarded by a Committee of the army, some of whom are waiting upon Congress for the result. In the alternative of peace or war, this event would be highly satisfactory, and would produce immediate tranquillity in the minds of the army, and prevent any further machinations of designing men, to sow discord between the civil and military powers of the United States.

"On motion, resolved unanimously, that the officers of the American army view with abhorrence and reject with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army, and resent with indignation the secret attempts of some unknown persons to collect the officers together, in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order.

"Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of the officers of the army be given to the Committee who presented to Congress the late address of the army, for

the wisdom and prudence with which they have conducted that business; and that a copy of the proceedings of this day, be transmitted by the President to Major General M'Dougal; and that he be requested to continue his solicitations at Congress, until the objects of his mission are accomplished."

Machinations which threatened the army with disgrace, and the country with ruin, being thus happily suppressed, General WASHINGTON without delay executed his promise to the officers; and in a letter to Congress with feeling and force supported their claims upon their country.

Soon after these proceedings, nine states concurred in a resolution, commuting the half pay into a sum equal to five years' whole pay. Still Congress depended on the states to furnish the funds to enable them to fulfil this engagement.

In April the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace between France and Great Britain was received, and on the 19th of that month, a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in the American camp.

In June General WASHINGTON addressed a circular letter on the important interests of the Union, to the Governors of the several states.—It began,

SIR,

"The great object for which I had the honour to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of Congress, and return to that domestick retirement, which it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life in a state of undisturbed repose; but, before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which Heaven

has been pleased to produce in our favour; to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States; to take my leave of your Excellency as a publick character, and to give my final blessing to that country in whose service I have spent the prime of my life; for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights; and whose happiness being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

"Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of detaining the more copiously on the subject of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favourable manner in which it has terminated, we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing: this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in *contemplation* be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, political, or a moral point of view.

"The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency; they are from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity: here they are not only surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the

completion of private and domestick enjoyment, but Heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness than any other nation has ever been favoured with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than the recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which our republick assumed its rank among the nations

"The foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period: researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent: the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government: the free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and, above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period the United States came into existence as a nation, and if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

"Such is our situation, and such are our prospects; but notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us, notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion, and make it our own; yet it appears to me, there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation. This is the time of their political probation; this is the moment, when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them; this is the

time to establish or ruin their national character for ever; this is the favourable moment to give such a tone to the Federal Government, as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution; or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the confederation and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one state against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the states shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall; and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse; a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

"With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime. I will therefore speak to your Excellency in the language of freedom and sincerity, without disguise. I am aware, however, those who differ from me in political sentiments, may perhaps remark, I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty; and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is alone the result of the purest intention; but the rectitude of my own heart, which disdains such unworthy motives, the part I have hitherto acted in life, the determination I have formed of not taking any share in publick business hereafter, the ardent desire I feel and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government, will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, convince my countrymen that I could have no sinister views in delivering with so little reserve, the opinions contained in this address.

"There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well being, I may even venture to

say, to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

"1st. An indissoluble union of the states under one federal head.

"2dly. A sacred regard to publick justice.

"3dly The adoption of a proper peace establishment. And,

"4thly. The prevalence of that pacifick and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

"These are the pillars on which the glorious fabrick of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country."

Having dilated on these subjects, the letter was thus concluded:

"I have thus freely disclosed what I wished, to make known before I surrendered up my publick trust to those who committed it to me: the task is now accomplished. I now bid adieu to your Excellency, as the Chief Magistrate of your state; at the same time I bid a last farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of publick life.

"It remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your Excellency will communicate these sentiments to your Legislature, at their next meeting; and that they may be considered as the Legacy of one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who even in the shade of retire-

ment, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it.

"I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow citizens of the United States at large; and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field; and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacifick temper of mind, which were the characteristicks of the divine Author of our blessed religion; without a humble imitation of whose example, in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation."

From this time the disbanding the army engrossed the attention of Congress and of the Commander in Chief. No funds were established to discharge the five years commutation. Large arrearages of pay were due to officers and privates, and it was not in the power of government to advance them money even to defray the expenses of the journey to their homes To disband the army in a body under these circumstances, was deemed a measure of too great hazard. Congress therefore directed the General not to give discharges to the troops which were enlisted for the war, until the definite articles of peace should be signed; but to grant furloughs to all non-commisioned officers and soldiers of this description, who desired them; and they were not ordered to rejoin their regiments.

Alarmed at this measure, the Generals, and officers commanding regiments and corps on the Hudson, presented an affectionate and respectful address to the Commander in Chief, in which they expressed a dutiful attachment to the government, but mentioned that after the late resolution of Congress, they "confident-

ly expected that their accounts would be liquidated, the balances ascertained, and adequate funds for the payment of those balances provided, before they should be dispersed or disbanded." On the succeeding day, in answer to their address, he observed, "that as no man could possibly be better acquainted than himself, with the past merits and services of the army, so no one could possibly be more strongly impressed with their present ineligible situation; feel a keener sensibility at their distresses; or more ardently desire to alleviate or remove them." He subjoined.

"Although the officers of the army very well know my official situation, that I am only a servant of the publick, and that it is not with me to dispense with orders which it is my duty to carry into execution, yet as furloughs in all services are considered as a matter of indulgence, and not of compulsion; as Congress, I am persuaded, entertained the best disposition towards the army; and, as I apprehend, in a very short time the two principal articles of complaint will be removed; until the further pleasure of Congress can be known, I shall not hesitate to comply with the wishes of the army, under these reservations only, that officers sufficient to conduct the men who choose to receive furloughs, will attend them, either on furlough, or by detachment."

This answer proved satisfactory; good humour prevailed through the camp, furloughs were generally taken; and in the course of the summer, the greater part of the soldiers returned quietly home.

In October, Congress issued a proclamation, declaring all those soldiers, who had engaged for the war, discharged on the 3d of December.

While the veteran troops, who had borne the heat and burden of the war, left the service unpaid, and peaceably returned to the business of private life, about eighty new levies, stationed at Lancaster in Pennsylvania, revolted from their officers, and in a body

marched to Philadelphia. Being there joined by two hundred of their companions in arms who were quartered in the barracks, they surrounded, with fixed bayonets, the State House, in which Congress and the Executive Council of Pennsylvania were sitting, and sent in a written message threatening the Council with the last outrage, if their demands were not, in twenty minutes, granted. The members of Congress were not immediately menaced, but they were, for several hours, insolently blocked up in their hall.

As soon as General WASHINGTON received intelligence of the mutiny, he detached General Howe with fifteen hundred men to suppress it; but before he reached Philadelphia, the disturbance was without bloodshed quieted. In a letter to Congress, General WASHINGTON thus expressed his indignation at this outrage of the military.

"While I suffer the most poignant distress in observing that a handful of men, contemptible in numbers, and equally so in point of service, (if the veteran troops from the southward have not been seduced by their example) and who are not worthy to be called soldiers, should disgrace themselves and their country, as the Pennsylvania mutineers have done, by insulting the sovereign authority of the United States, and that of their own, I feel an inexpressible satisfaction, that even this behaviour cannot stain the name of the American soldiery. It cannot be imputable to, or reflect dishonour on the army at large, but on the contrary it will by the striking contrast it exhibits, hold up to publick view the other troops in the most advantageous point of light. Upon taking all the circumstances into consideration, I cannot sufficiently express my surprise and indignation at the arrogance, the folly, and the wickedness of the mutineers; nor can I sufficiently admire the fidelity, the bravery, and patriotism which must for ever signalize the unsullied character of the other corps of our army. For when we consider that

these Pennsylvania levies, who have now mutinied, are recruits, and soldiers of a day, who have not borne the heat and burden of the war, and who can have, in reality, very few hardships to complain of; and when we at the same time recollect that those soldiers, who have lately been furloughed from this army, are the veterans who have patiently endured hunger, nakedness, and cold; who have suffered and bled without a murmur, and who with perfect good order, have retired to their homes, without a settlement of their accounts, or a farthing of money in their pockets; we shall be as much astonished at the virtues of the latter, as we are struck with horrour and detestation at the proceedings of the former; and every candid mind, without indulging ill grounded prejudices, will undoubtedly make the proper discrimination."

On the 25th of November, the British troops evacuated New-York. General WASHINGTON, accompanied by Governour Clinton, by a number of other civil and military officers, and by many respectable citizens, make his publick entry on horseback into the city.

His military course being honourably and successfully terminated, the painful task remained to bid adieu to the companions of his toils and dangers. The closing interview took place on the 4th of December. At noon the principal officers of the army assembled at Francis's tavern, and their General soon entered the room. His emotions were too great for concealment. Filling a glass of wine he turned to them and said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you; I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." He drank the wine, and proceeded. "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you, if each of you will come and take me by the hand." General KNOX being the nearest, turned to him. Incapable of utterance, General WASHINGTON grasped

his hand and embraced him. In the same affecting manner, he took leave of each succeeding officer. From every eye dropped the tear of sensibility, and not a single word interrupted the tenderness of the scene. He immediately left the room, and passed through a corps of light infantry, on his way to White Hall, where a barge waited to convey him to Powles' Hook. The whole company followed with feelings which words cannot express. Having entered the barge, he turned, and waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu.

Congress was then in session at Annapolis. To this honourable body, the General immediately repaired to resign his military command.*

* On his way to Annapolis, he stopped at Philadelphia to settle his accounts; of which transaction Dr. Gordon makes the following statement.

"While in the city, he delivered in his accounts to the Comptroller, down to December 13th, *all in his own hand-writing*, and every entry made in the most particular manner, stating the occasion of each charge, so as to give the least trouble in examining and comparing them with the vouchers, with which they were attended.

The heads are as follows, copied from the folio manuscript paper book in the file of the treasury office, No. 3700, being a black box of tin, containing, under lock and key, both that and the vouchers.

Total of Expenditures from 1775 to 1783, exclusive of Provisions from Commissaries and Contractors, and of liquors, &c. from them and others, ...	£3387 14 4
* Secret intelligence and service, ...	1982 10 0
Spent in reconnoitring and travelling, ...	1874 8 8
Miscellaneous charges, ...	2952 10 1
Expended besides, dollars according to the scale of depreciation, ...	6114 14 0
	£16,311 17 1

*"Two hundred guineas advanced to General M'Dougal are not included in the £1982 10, not being yet settled, but included in some of the other charges, and so reckoned in the general sum."

He arrived on the 19th, and on the next day informed Congress of his desire to resign into their hands the commission with which they had invested him as Commander in Chief of the American armies; and he asked in what form he should present his resignation. Congress resolved that it should be at a publick audience on the succeeding Tuesday. When the moment of this interesting transaction arrived, the gallery was crowded with spectators; and many of the civil officers of the state and of the principal officers of the

Note. 104,364 of the dollars were received after March, 1780, and although credited forty for one, many did not fetch at the rate of a hundred for one, while 27,775 of them are returned without deducting any thing from the above account (and, therefore, actually made a present of to the publick.)

(General WASHINGTON's account) from June, 1775, to the end of June, 1783, ...	£16,311 17 1
Expenditure from July 1, 1783, to December 13, ...	1717 5 4
(Added afterwards) from thence to December 28, ...	213 8 4
Mrs. Washington's travelling expenses in coming to the General and returning, ...	1064 1 0
	£19,306 11 9

Lawful money of Virginia, the same as the Massachusetts, or £14,479 18 9¾, sterling.

"The General entered in his book—"I find, upon the final adjustment of these accounts, that I am a considerable loser—my disbursements falling a good deal short of my receipts, and the money I had upon hand of my own: for besides the sums I carried with me to Cambridge, in 1775 I received monies afterwards on private account in 1777, and since which (except small sums that I had occasion to apply to private uses) were all expended in the publick service; through hurry I suppose, and the perplexity of business (for I know not how else to account for the deficiency) I have omitted to charge the same, whilst every *debit* against *me* is here credited. *July* 1, 1783."

army, the French Consul General, and a large body of respectable citizens were admitted to the floor of the Hall. The members of Congress, representing the sovereignty of the nation, were seated and covered. At twelve o'clock, General WASHINGTON was introduced and conducted to a chair. After a short interval the Secretary commanded silence. The President then informed the general, "that the United States in Congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communications." With dignity of manner suited to the occasion, he arose and addressed them:

"Mr. PRESIDENT,

"The great events, on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign, with satisfaction, the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impos-

sible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of publick life."

Having advanced to the chair and delivered the President his Commission, he received from him the following reply:

"Sir,

"The United States in Congress assembled, receive, with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and a doubtful war.

"Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge, before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you.

"You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power, through all disasters and changes. You have by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered, till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom,

safety, and independence; on which happy event, we sincerely join you in congratulations.

"Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world; having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessings of your fellow citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages.

"We feel, with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particulary charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

"We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you, we address to him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved, may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be as happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

The General immediately retired from the hall of Congress. The minds of the spectators were deeply impressed by the scene. The recollection of the circumstances of the country at the time the commission was accepted, the events that had since taken place, and the glorious issue of the conflict conspired to give the scene the most lively interest.

His country being exalted to the dignity of a sovereign and independent nation, General WASHINGTON with great satisfaction resigned the arduous duties and high responsibility of his military command. He repaired to Mount Vernon, in the delightful prospect of spending the residue of his days in the bosom of domestick life.

With an immaculate character he had passed

through all the complicated transactions of a revolutionary war; and had established an immortal reputation as a soldier and a patriot, throughout the civilized world. To his retirement he carried the profound veneration and most lively affection of his grateful countrymen. In the estimation of his friends, the measure of his honour was full. The extent of their wishes was, that no unpropitious event might take place to tarnish the lustre of his reputation; but that in peace he might descend to the grave, with his laurel crown unfaded on his head.

CHAPTER X.

General Washington in Retirement—His Pursuits—Votes of Congress and of the Legislature of Virginia respecting him—His Visitors and Correspondents—His Plans to improve the Navigation of the Potomack and James' Rivers—Declines the grant of Virginia—His Advice to the Cincinnati—State of Publick Affairs—National Convention—General Washington its President—Federal Constitution recommended and adopted—General Washington requested to consent to administer the Government—He is chosen President of the United States—Sets out for the Seat of Government—Attention shown him on his Journey—His Reception at New-York.

1784. Peace being restored to his country upon the broad basis of Independence, General Washington with supreme delight retired to the pursuits of private life. In a letter to Governour Clinton, written three days after his arrival at Mount Vernon, he thus expressed the grateful feelings of his heart on being relieved from the weight of his publick station. "The scene is at length closed. I feel myself eased of a load of publick care, and hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men, and in the practice of the domestick virtues."

This sentiment was more fully expressed to the Marquis La Fayette. "I have become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomack, and under the sha-

dow of my own vine and own fig tree, free from the bustle of a camp, and the busy scenes of publick life, I am solacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments, of which the soldier who is ever in pursuit of fame, the statesman whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries (as if the globe was insufficient for us all) and the courtier who is always watching the countenance of his Prince in the hope of catching a gracious smile, can have very little conception. I have not only retired from all publick employments, but am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk and tread the paths of private life with heart-felt satisfaction. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all; and this, my dear friend, being the order of my march, I will move down the stream of life, until I sleep with my fathers."

But delighted as he was with his domestick enjoyments, he found it to be the work of time to divest himself of the feelings and habits formed in his publick station. "I am just beginning," said he in a letter to a friend, "to experience the ease and freedom from publick cares, which, however desirable, takes some time to realize; for strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that it was not until lately I could get the better of my usual custom of ruminating as soon as I awoke in the morning, on the business of the ensuing day; and of my surprise at finding, after revolving many things in my mind, that I was no longer a publick man, or had any thing to do with publick transactions. I feel, now however, as I conceive a wearied traveller must do, who, after treading many a painful step with a heavy burden on his shoulders, is eased of the latter, having reached the haven to which all the former were directed, and from his house-top is looking back and tracing with an eager eye, the meanders by which he escaped the quicksands and mires which lay

in his way, and into which none but the all-powerful Guide and Dispenser of human events could have prevented his falling."

Soon after the proclamation of peace, Congress unanimously resolved to erect at the place which should be established as the permanent seat of government, an equestrian statue of General WASHINGTON This resolution, however, has not yet been carried into effect.

Virginia also bore an honourable testimony of the sense entertained of the services of her distinguished citizen. In a spacious area in the centre of the capital of that state, she erected a marble statue of him, with the following inscription on its pedestal.

"The General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia have caused this statue to be erected as a monument of affection and gratitude to GEORGE WASHINGTON, who, uniting in the endowments of the HERO the virtues of the PATRIOT, and exerting both in the establishment of the liberties of his country, has rendered his name dear to his fellow citizens, and given the world an immortal example of true glory."

In addition to these expressions of publick veneration, innumerable addresses from literary and other incorporations were presented to him, which, in ardent language, expressed the veneration universally felt for his character, and the admiration entertained for his services. His well-balanced mind bore these publick and private honours without a symptom of vanity or pride.

The pursuits of General WASHINGTON at this period were a renewal of habits, formed at an earlier part of life, and a recurrence to employments in which he ever took delight; and he experienced nothing of that dissatisfaction and listlessness of which gentlemen often complain, who leave the cares of a publick station for the tranquil scenes of retirement. The improvement of American husbandry engaged his close

attention, and in the prosecution of plans adapted to this purpose, he entered into a correspondence with Mr. Arthur Young, and other distinguished European agriculturists. The result of their information, and of his own experience, he applied, to amend his farming implements, to improve his breed of cattle, and in various experiments, suited to the soil he cultivated. The plans which succeeded with him, he recommended to the farmers around him.

But even in the shade of Mount Vernon, the time of General WASHINGTON was not wholly at his own disposal. Every foreigner of distinction who visited the United States was urgent for an introduction to the late Commander in Chief; and every American of any consequence, who was about to cross the Atlantick, was ambitious to obtain letters from him to celebrated characters in Europe. With numbers of the officers of the late army, with many of the political characters of his own country, and with several eminent individuals of Europe, he held a correspondence. Ceremonious visitors and officious correspondents became oppressive to him, and in a letter to a friend, he thus complained of the burden of them. "It is not, my dear Sir, the letters of my friends which give me trouble, or add ought to my perplexity. I receive them with pleasure, and pay as much attention to them as my avocations will permit. It is references to old matters with which I have nothing to do; applications which often times cannot be complied with; inquiries to satisfy which would employ the pen of an historian; letters of compliment, as unmeaning, perhaps, as they are troublesome, but which must be attended to; and the common place business, which employ my pen and my time, often disagreeably. Indeed these, with company, deprive me of exercise; and unless I can obtain relief, must be productive of disagreeable consequences. Already, I begin to feel their effects. Heavy and painful oppressions of the head, and other disa

greeable sensations often trouble me. I am therefore determined to employ some person who shall ease me of the *drudgery* of this business.—To correspond with those I love is among my highest gratifications. Letters of friendship require no study; the communications they contain flow with ease; and allowances are expected and are made. But this is not the case with those which require research, consideration, and recollection." At length he engaged a young gentleman of talents and education, who relieved him from a great part of these irksome attentions.

The patriotick mind of General WASHINGTON could not however be engrossed by his own concerns. In his retirement, he with solicitude watched over the interests of his country. The improvement of its inland navigation early engaged his reflections. Plans which the war had interrupted, were now resumed upon an enlarged scale. This year he visited the western country as far as Pittsburg, and having collected the necessary information, he opened his scheme to Mr. Harrison, then Governour of Virginia. This was to render the rivers Potomack and James navigable as high as practicable; to take accurate surveys of the country between these rivers and the streams which empty into the Ohio, and find the most advantageous portages between them; to survey the waters west of the Ohio, which empty into the lakes; and to open such inland navigation between these waters, as would secure the trade of the western country to Virginia and Maryland. "Nature," he observed, "had made such an ample display of her bounties in those regions, that the more the country was explored the more it would rise in estimation." He was persuaded that Pennsylvania and New-York would adopt measures, to direct the trade of that country to their seaports, and he was anxious that his native state should seasonably avail herself of the advantages she possessed to secure her share in it. "I am not," he declared,

"for discouraging the exertions of any state to draw the commerce of the western country to its sea-ports. The more communications we open to it, the closer we bind that rising world, (for it indeed may be so called) to our interests, and the greater strength shall we acquire by it. Those to whom nature affords the best communication, will, if they are wise, enjoy the greatest share of the trade. All I would be understood to mean therefore, is, that the gifts of Providence may not be neglected." But political motives had higher influence in this transaction than commercial. "I need not remark to you, Sir," said he in his communication to the Governour of Virginia, "that the flanks and rear of the United States are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones too; nor need I press the necessity of applying the cement of interest to bind all parts of the union together by indissoluble bonds; especially of binding that part of it which lies immediately west of us, to the middle states. For what ties, let me ask, should we have upon those people, how entirely unconnected with them shall we be, and what troubles may we not apprehend, if the Spaniards on their right, and Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing impediments in their way as they now do, should hold out lures for their trade and alliance? When they get strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive, what will be the consequence of their having formed close commercial connexions with both, or either of those powers, it needs not, in my opinion, the gift of prophecy to foretell.

"The western settlers (I speak now from my own observations) stand as it were upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them any way. Until the Spaniards (very unwisely as I think) threw difficulties in their way, they looked down the Mississippi; and they looked that way for no other reason than because they could gently glide down the stream; without considering perhaps the fatigues of the voyage back

again, and the time necessary for its performance and because they have no other means of coming to us. but by a long land transportation through unimproved roads."

These recommendations were not lost. Under the patronage of the governments of Virginia and Maryland, two companies were formed for opening the navigation of the Potomack and the James. Of both which General WASHINGTON consented to be the president. The Legislature of Virginia by a resolution which passed unanimously, directed the treasurer of the state to subscribe for one hundred and fifty shares in each company for the benefit of General WASHINGTON. The appropriation was made in a manner the most affecting to a noble mind. The assembly expressed a wish, that while the improvements of their inland navigation were monuments of his glory, they might also be monuments of his country's gratitude. The donation placed him in a very delicate and embarrassed situation. The feelings excited by this generous and honourable act, of his state, he fully expressed to the friend, who informed him of the passage of the bill. "It is not easy for me to decide by which my mind was most affected upon the receipt of your letter of the sixth instant—surprise or gratitude. Both were greater than I had words to express. The attention and good wishes which the assembly has evidenced by their act for vesting in me one hundred and fifty shares in the navigation of the rivers Potomack and James, is more than mere compliment—there is an unequivocal and substantial meaning annexed. But, believe me, Sir, no circumstance has happened since I left the walks of publick life which has so much embarrassed me. On the one hand, I consider this act, as I have already observed, as a noble and unequivocal proof of the good opinion, the affection, and disposition of my country to serve me; and I should be hurt, if by declining the acceptance of it, my refusal should be

construed into disrespect, or the smallest slight upon the general intention of the Legislature; or that an ostentatious display of disinterestedness, or publick virtue, was the source of refusal.

"On the other hand, it is really my wish to have my mind and my actions, which are the result of reflection, as free and independent as the air, that I may be more at liberty (in things which my opportunities and experience have brought me to the knowledge of) to express my sentiments, and if necessary, to suggest what may occur to me, under the fullest conviction that although my judgment may be arraigned, there will be no suspicion that sinister motives had the smallest influence in the suggestion. 'Not content then with the bare consciousness of my having in all this navigation business, acted upon the clearest conviction of the political importance of the measure. I would wish that every individual who may hear that it was a favourite plan of mine, may know also, that I had no other motive for promoting it, than the advantage of which I conceived it would be productive to the union at large, and to this state in particular, by cementing the eastern and western territory together, at the same time that it will give vigour and increase to our commerce, and be a convenience to our citizens.

"How would this matter be viewed then by the eye of the world, and what opinion would be formed when it comes to be related that G***** W*********n exerted himself to effect this work, and that G***** W*********n has received *twenty thousand dollars* and *five thousand pounds* sterling of the publick money as an interest therein? Would not this (if I am entitled to any merit for the part I have performed, and without it there is no foundation for the act) deprive me of the principal thing which is laudable in my conduct? Would it not in some respects be considered in the same light as a pension? And would not the

apprehension of this induce me to offer my sentiments in future with the more reluctance? In a word under whatever pretence, and however customary these gratuities may be in other countries, should I not thence forward be considered as a dependant? One moment's thought of which would give me more pain than I should receive pleasure from the product of all the tolls, was every farthing of them vested in me."

After great deliberation, he determined to appropriate the shares to such publick uses as the Legislature should approve. In communicating this determination through the Governour, to the General Assembly, he begged him to assure them that he was "filled on the occasion with every sentiment which can flow from a heart, warm with love to his country sensible to every token of its approbation and affection, and solicitous to testify in every instance a respectful attention to its wishes." According to his desire, the shares were appropriated to the support of a college in the vicinity of each of those rivers.

The Cincinnati had in their original constitution secured perpetuity of existence to their society. The eldest male posterity of the officers were to succeed to the places of their fathers, and in the failure of them, a collateral branch might be introduced. Individuals also of the respective states, distinguished for their talents and patriotism, might be admitted as honorary members for life. In this part of the institution, some American patriots thought they perceived the seeds of an order of nobility, and publick jealousy was excited against the society. General WASHINGTON, their President, conceived that if popular prejudices could not be removed, the society ought "to yield to them in a degree, and not suffer that which was intended for the best of purposes to produce a bad one.' On full inquiry, he found that objections to the institution were general throughout the United States, under the apprehension that it would prove dangerous

to publick liberty, he therefore exerted his influence among the officers to induce them to drop the offensive part of the institution, and at the annual meeting in May 1787, the hereditary principle, and the power to adopt honorary members, were expunged from the constitution. This modification fully removed the publick apprehension.

Experience proved the articles under which the United States originally confederated to be inadequate to the purposes of national government; and wise and good men in every part of the union anxiously looked forward to a crisis in publick affairs. Many of General WASHINGTON's friends intimated to him that the occasion would call for his personal influence. Mr. Jay, in letters written in the spring and summer of 1786, with feeling described the state of the country, "You have wisely retired from publick employments, and calmly view from the temple of fame, the various exertions of that sovereignty and independence, which Providence has enabled you to be so greatly and gloriously instrumental in securing to your country, yet I am persuaded that you cannot view them with the eye of an unconcerned spectator.

"Experience has pointed out errours in our national government which call for correction, and which threaten to blast the fruit we expected from the tree of liberty. An opinion begins to prevail that a general convention for revising the articles of confederation would be expedient. Whether the people are yet ripe for such a measure, or whether the system proposed to be obtained by it is only to be expected from calamity and commotion is difficult to ascertain

"I think we are in a delicate situation, and a variety of considerations and circumstances give me uneasiness. It is in contemplation to take measures for forming a general convention. The plan is not matured. If it should be well connected and take effect, I am fervent in my wishes that it may comport with

the line of life you have marked out for yourself, to favour your country with your counsels on such an important and *single* occasion.

"Our affairs seem to lead to some crisis, something that I cannot foresee or conjecture. I am uneasy and apprehensive, more so than during the war. *Then* we had a fixed object, and though the means and time of obtaining it were problematical, yet I did firmly believe that we should ultimately succeed, because I did firmly believe that justice was with us. The case is now altered. We are going and doing wrong, and therefore I look forward to evils and calamities, but without being able to guess at the instrument, nature, or measure of them.

"That we shall again recover, and things again go well, I have no doubt. Such a variety of circumstances would not, almost miraculously, have combined to liberate and make us a nation, for transient and unimportant purposes. I therefore believe that we are yet to become a great and respectable people; but when or how, only the spirit of prophecy can discern.

"What I most fear is, that the better kind of people (by which I mean the people who are orderly and industrious, who are content with their situations, and not uneasy in their circumstances) will be led by the insecurity of property, the loss of confidence in their rulers, and the want of publick faith and rectitude, to consider the charms of liberty as imaginary and delusive. A state of uncertainty and fluctuation must disgust and alarm such men, and prepare their minds for almost any change that may promise them quiet and security."

To these weighty communications General WASHINGTON replied.

"Your sentiments that our affairs are drawing rapidly to a crisis, accord with my own. What the event will be, is also beyond the reach of my foresight. We have errours to correct; we have probably had

too good an opinion of human nature, in forming our confederation. Experience has taught us that men will not adopt and carry into execution, measures the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of coercive power. I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation, without lodging, somewhere, a power which will pervade the whole Union in as energetick a manner, as the authority of the state governments extends over the several states. To be fearful of investing Congress, constituted as that body is, with ample authorities for national purposes, appears to me the very climax of popular absurdity and madness. Could Congress exert them for the detriment of the people, without injuring themselves in an equal or greater proportion? Are not their interests inseparably connected with those of their constituents? By the rotation of appointments, must they not mingle frequently with the mass of citizens? Is it not rather to be apprehended, if they were not possessed of the powers before described, that the individual members would be induced to use them, on many occasions, very timidly and inefficaciously, for fear of losing their popularity and future election? We must take human nature as we find it; perfection falls not to the share of mortals.

"What then is to be done? Things cannot go on in the same strain for ever. It is much to be feared, as you observe, that the better kind of people, being disgusted with these circumstances, will have their minds prepared for any revolution whatever. We are apt to run from one extreme to another. To anticipate and prevent disastrous contingencies, would be the part of wisdom and patriotism.

"What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing! I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horrour. From thinking proceeds speaking, thence to acting is often but a single step. But how irrevoca-

ble and tremendous! what a triumph for our enemies to verify their predictions! what a triumph for the advocates of despotism to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems, founded on the basis of equal liberty, are merely ideal and fallacious! Would to God that wise measures may be taken in time to avert the consequences we have but too much reason to apprehend.

"Retired as I am from the world, I frankly acknowledge I cannot feel myself an unconcerned spectator. Yet having happily assisted in bringing the ship into port, and having been fairly discharged, it is not my business to embark again on the sea of troubles.

"Nor could it be expected that my sentiments and opinions would have much weight on the minds of my countrymen. They have been neglected, though given as a last legacy in a most solemn manner. I then perhaps had some claims to publick attention. I consider myself as having none at present."

When the plan of a Convention was ripened, and its meeting appointed to be at Philadelphia in May, 1787, a respectable character in Virginia, communicated to General WASHINGTON the intention of that state to elect him one of her representatives, on this important occasion. He explicitly declined being a candidate, yet the Legislature placed him at the head of her delegation, in the hope that mature reflection would induce him to attend upon the service. The Governour of the state, Mr. Randolph, informed him of his appointment, by the following letter. "By the enclosed act you will readily discover that the Assembly are alarmed at the storms which threaten the United States. What our enemies have foretold seems to be hastening to its accomplishment, and cannot be frustrated but by an instantaneous, zealous, and steady union among the *friends* of the federal government. To you I need not press our present dangers. The inefficacy of Congress you have often felt in your offi

cial character; the increasing languor of our associated republicks you hourly see; and a dissolution would be, I know, to you, a source of the deepest mortification. I freely then entreat you to accept the unanimous appointment of the General Assembly to the Convention at Philadelphia. For the gloomy prospect still admits one ray of hope, that those who began, carried on, and consummated the revolution, can yet restore America from the impending ruin"

"Sensible as I am," said the General in his answer, "of the honour conferred on me by the General Assembly of this commonwealth, in appointing me one of the deputies to a Convention proposed to be held in the city of Philadelphia in May next, for the purpose of revising the federal constitution; and desirous as I am on all occasions of testifying a ready obedience to the calls of my country—yet, Sir, there exist at this moment, circumstances which I am persuaded will render this fresh instance of confidence incompatible with other measures which I had previously adopted, and from which seeing little prospect of disengaging myself, it would be disingenuous not to express a wish that some other character on whom greater reliance can be had, may be substituted in my place, the probability of my non-attendance being too great to continue my appointment.

"As no mind can be more deeply impressed than mine is with the critical situation of our affairs, resulting in a great measure from the want of efficient powers in the federal head, and due respect to its ordinances, so consequently those who do engage in the important business of removing these defects, will carry with them every good wish of mine, which the best dispositions towards their obtainment can bestow.

The Governour declined the acceptance of his resignation of the appointment, and begged him to suspend his determination until the approach of the period of the meeting of Convention that his final judg-

ment might be the result of a full acquaintance with all circumstances.

Thus situated, the General reviewed the subject, that he might upon thorough deliberation make the decision which duty and patriotism enjoined. He had, by a circular letter to the state societies, declined being re-elected the President of the Cincinnati, and had announced that he should not attend their general meeting at Philadelphia on the next May; and he apprehended, that if he attended the Convention at the time and place of their meeting, that he should give offence to all the officers of the late army who composed this body. He was under apprehension that the states would not be generally represented on this occasion, and that a failure in the plan would diminish the personal influence of those who engaged in it. Some of his confidential friends were of opinion that the occasion did not require his interposition, and that he ought to reserve himself for a state of things which would unequivocally demand his agency and influence. Even on the supposition that the plan should succeed, they thought that he ought not to engage in it; because his having been in Convention would obligate him to make exertions to carry the measures that body might recommend, into effect, and would necessarily "sweep him into the tide of publick affairs." His own experience since the close of the revolutionary war created in his mind serious doubts, whether the respective states would quietly adopt any system, calculated to give stability and vigour to the national government. "As we could not," to use his own language, "remain quiet more than three or four years in times of peace, under the constitutions of our own choosing, which were believed in many states to have been formed with deliberation and wisdom, I see little prospect either of our agreeing on any other, or that we should remain long satisfied under it, if we could Yet I would wish any thing

and every thing essayed to prevent the effusion of blood, and to divert the humiliating and contemptible figure we are about to make in the annals of mankind."

These considerations operated powerfully to confirm him in the opinion first formed not to attend the Convention.

On the other hand, he realized the greatness of the publick stake. The confederation was universally considered as a nullity. The advice of a Convention, composed of respectable characters from every part of the union, would probably have great influence with the community, whether it should be to amend the articles of the old government, or to form a new constitution.

Amidst the various sentiments which at this time prevailed, respecting the state of publick affairs, many entertained the supposition that the "times must be worse before they could be better," and that the American people could be induced to establish an efficient and liberal national government only by the scourge of anarchy. Some seemed to think that the experiment of a republican government in America had already failed, and that one, more energetick, must soon by violence be introduced. General WASHINGTON entertained some apprehension, that his declining to attend the Convention would be considered as a derelic tion of republican principles.

While he was balancing these opposite circumstances in his mind, the insurrection of Massachusetts occurred, which turned the scale of opinion in favour of his joining the Convention. He viewed this event as awfully alarming. "For God's sake tell me," said he in a letter to Colonel Humphreys, "what is the cause of all these commotions? Do they proceed from licentiousness, British influence disseminated by the tories or real grievances which admit of redress? If the lat ter, why was redress delayed until the publick mind had become so much agitated? If the former, why are

not the powers of government tried at once? It is as well to be without as not to exercise them."

To General Knox and other friends, similar apprehensions were expressed. "I feel infinitely more than I can express to you, for the disorders which have arisen in these states. Good God! who besides a tory could have foreseen, or a Briton have predicted them? I do assure you that even at this moment, when I reflect upon the present aspect of our affairs, it seems to me like the visions of a dream. My mind can scarcely realize it as a thing in actual existence:—So strange, so wonderful, does it appear to me. In this, as in most other matters, we are too slow. When this spirit first dawned, it might probably have been easily checked; but it is scarcely within the reach of human ken, at this moment, to say when, where, or how, it will terminate. There are combustibles in every state, to which a spark might set fire. In bewailing, which I have often done with the keenest sorrow, the death of our much lamented friend General Greene, I have accompanied my regrets of late with a query whether he would not have preferred such an exit, to the scenes which it is more than probable many of his compatriots may live to bemoan.———

"You talk, my good sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found; nor if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for these disorders. *Influence is not government.* Let us have a *government* by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured; or let us know the worst at once. Under these impressions my humble opinion is that there is a call for decision. Know then precisely what the insurgents aim at. If they have *real* grievances, redress them if possible; or acknowledge the justice of them, and your inability to do it in the present moment. If they have not, employ the force of the government against them at once. If this is inade-

quate, all will be convinced that the superstructure is bad, or wants support. To be more exposed in the eyes of the world, and more contemptible than we already are, is hardly possible. To delay one or the other of these expedients is to exasperate on the one hand, or to give confidence on the other, and will add to their numbers; for, like snow-balls, such bodies increase by every movement, unless there is something in the way to obstruct and crumble them, before their weight is too great and irresistible.

"These are my sentiments. Precedents are dangerous things. Let the reins of government then be braced, and held with a steady hand; and every violation of the Constitution be reprehended. If defective, let it be amended, but not suffered to be trampled upon while it has an existence."

A friend having intimated by letter his apprehension, that civil discord was near, in which event he would be obliged to act a publick part, or to leave the continent. "It is," said the General in reply, "with the deepest and most heart-felt concern, I perceive, by some late paragraphs extracted from the Boston papers, that the insurgents of Massachusetts, far from being satisfied with the redress offered by their General Court, are still acting in open violation of law and government, and have obliged the Chief Magistrate, in a decided tone, to call upon the militia of the state to support the constitution.

"What, gracious God, is man! That there should be such inconsistency and perfidiousness in his conduct. It is but the other day, that we were shedding our blood to obtain the constitutions under which we live; constitutions of our own choice and making; and now we are unsheathing the sword to overturn them. The thing is so unaccountable that I hardly know how to realize it; or to persuade myself that I am not under the illusion of a dream. My mind, previous to the receipt of your letter of the first ultime

had often been agitated by a thought similar to the one you expressed respecting a friend of yours; but heaven forbid that a crisis should come when he shall be driven to the necessity of making a choice of either of the alternatives there mentioned."

Having learned that the states had generally elected their representatives to the Convention, and Congress having given its sanction to it, he on the 28th of March communicated to the Governour of Virginia, his consent to act as one of the delegates of his state on this important occasion.

On the second Monday in May 1787, the delegates of twelve states met in Convention at Philadelphia, and unanimously elected General GEORGE WASHINGTON their President. The present Constitution of Government of the United States was the result of the deliberations and concessions of this venerable body.

Although the friends of General WASHINGTON had fully acquiesced in the propriety of his retiring from publick life at the close of the revolutionary war, yet from the moment of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, all eyes were directed to him as the first President of the United States. His correspondents early endeavoured to prepare his mind to gratify the expectations of his country. Mr. Johnson, a distinguished patriot of Maryland, wrote him, "We cannot do without you, and I and thousands more can explain to any body but yourself why we cannot do without you."

The struggle between inclination and duty was long and severe. His feelings on this occasion fully appeared in the letters which he wrote to his friends on the subject Colonel Lee, then a member of Congress, communicating to General WASHINGTON the measures which that body were adopting to introduce the new government, thus alludes to the presidency.

"The solemnity of the moment, and its application to yourself, have fixed my mind in contemplations of

a publick and a personal nature, and I feel an involuntary impulse which I cannot resist, to communicate, without reserve to you some of the reflections which the hour has produced. Solicitous for our common happiness as a people, and convinced, as I continue to be, that our peace and prosperity depend on the proper improvement of the present period, my anxiety is extreme that the new government may have an auspicious beginning. To effect this, and to perpetuate a nation formed under your auspices, it is certain you will again be called forth. The same principles of devotion to the good of mankind, which have invariably governed your conduct, will no doubt continue to rul your mind, however opposite their consequences may be to your repose and happiness. It may be wrong, but I cannot suppress in my wishes for national felicity a due regard for your personal fame and content.

"If the same success should attend your efforts on this important occasion which has distinguished you hitherto, then, to be sure, you will have spent a life which Providence rarely, if ever, before gave to the lot of man. It is my anxious hope, it is my belief that this will be the case, but all things are uncertain, and perhaps nothing more so than political events.

"Without you, the government can have but little chance of success; and the people, of that happiness which its prosperity must yield."

To these communications, the General thus replied:

"Your observations on the solemnity of the crisis, and its application to myself, bring before me subjects of the most momentous and interesting nature. In our endeavours to establish a new general government, the contest, nationally considered, seems not to have been so much for glory, as existence. It was for a long time doubtful whether we were to survive as an independent republick, or decline from our federal dignity into insignificant and wretched fragments of empire. The adoption of the constitution so extensively,

and with so liberal an acquiescence on the part of the minorities in general, promised the former; but lately, the circular letter of New-York has manifested in my apprehension an unfavourable, if not an insidious tendency to a contrary policy. I still hope for the best; but before you mentioned it, I could not help fearing it would serve as a standard to which the disaffected could resort. It is now evidently the part of all honest men, who are friends to the new constitution, to endeavour to give it a chance to disclose its merits and defects by carrying it fairly into effect, in the first instance

"The principal topick of your letter is, to me, a point of great delicacy indeed, insomuch that I can scarcely, without some impropriety, touch upon it. In the first place, the event to which you allude may never happen, among other reasons because, if the partiality of my fellow-citizens conceive it to be a mean by which the sinews of the new government would be strengthened, it will of consequence be obnoxious to those who are in opposition to it; many of whom, unquestionably, will be placed among the electors. This consideration alone would supersede the expediency of announcing any definitive and irrevocable resolution. You are among the small number of those who know my invincible attachment to domestick life, and that my sincerest wish is to continue in the enjoyment of it solely, until my final hour. But the world would be neither so well instructed, nor so candidly disposed, as to believe me to be uninfluenced by sinister motives in case any circumstance should render a deviation from the line of conduct I had prescribed for myself indispensable. Should the contingency you suggest, take place, and (for argument's sake alone let me say) should my unfeigned reluctance to accept the office be overcome by a deference for the reasons and opinions of my friends; might I not, after the declarations I have made, (and heaven knows they were made in the sincerity of my heart) in the judg-

ment of the impartial world, and of posterity, be chargeable with levity and inconsistency, if not with rashness and ambition? Nay, farther, would there not even be some apparent foundation for the two former charges? Now, justice to myself, and tranquillity of conscience require that I should act a part, if not above imputation, at least capable of vindication. Nor will you conceive me to be too solicitous for reputation. Though I prize as I ought the good opinion of my fellow-citizens, yet if I know myself, I would not seek popularity at the expense of one social duty, or moral virtue.

"While doing what my conscience informed me was right, as it respected my God, my country, and myself, I could despise all the party clamour and unjust censure which must be expected from some, whose personal enmity might be occasioned by their hostility to the government. I am conscious that I fear alone to give any real occasion for obloquy, and that I do not dread to meet with unmerited reproach. And certain I am, whensoever I shall be convinced the good of my country requires my reputation to be put in risk, regard for my own fame will not come in competition with an object of so much magnitude.

"If I declined the task, it would be upon quite another principle. Notwithstanding my advanced season of life, my increasing fondness for agricultural amusements, and my growing love of retirement, augment and confirm my decided predeliction for the character of a private citizen, yet it will be no one of these motives, nor the hazard to which my former reputation might be exposed, or the terrour of encountering new fatigues and troubles, that would deter me from an acceptance; but a belief that some other person, who had less pretence and less inclination to be excused, could execute all the duties full as satisfactorily as myself. To say more would be indiscreet; as the disclosure of a refusal beforehand might incur the

application of the fable, in which the fox is represented as undervaluing the grapes he could not reach. You will perceive, my dear sir, by what is here observed (and which you will be pleased to consider in the light of a confidential communication) that my inclinations will dispose and decide me to remain as I am; unless a clear and insurmountable conviction should be impressed on my mind, that some very disagreeable consequences must in all human probability result from the indulgence of my wishes."

To similar suggestions from Colonel Hamilton, General WASHINGTON replied. "On the delicate subject with which you conclude your letter I can say nothing; because the event alluded to may never happen, and because in case it should occur, it would be a point of prudence to defer forming one's ultimate and irrevocable decision, so long as new data might be afforded for one to act with the greater wisdom and propriety. I would not wish to conceal my prevailing sentiment from you. For you know me well enough, my good sir, to be persuaded that I am not guilty of affectation, when I tell you it is my great and sole desire to live and die in peace and retirement on my own farm. Were it even indispensable a different line of conduct should be adopted, while you and some others who are acquainted with my heart would *acquit*, the world and posterity might probably *accuse* me of *inconsistency* and *ambition*. Still I hope I shall always possess firmness and virtue enough to maintain (what I consider the most enviable of all titles) the character of *an honest man*.

"Although I could not help observing from several publications and letters that my name had been sometimes spoken of, and that it was possible that *contingency* which is the subject of your letter might happen, yet I thought it best to maintain a guarded silence, and to lack the counsel of my best friends (which I certainly hold in the highest estimation) ra

ther than to hazard an imputation unfriendly to the delicacy of my feelings. For, situated as I am, I could hardly bring the question into the slightest discussion, or ask an opinion even in the most confidential manner, without betraying in my judgment, some impropriety of conduct, or without feeling an apprehension that a premature display of anxiety might be construed into a vain glorious desire of pushing myself into notice as a candidate. Now, if I am not grossly deceived in myself, I should unfeignedly rejoice, in case the electors, by giving their votes in favour of some other person, would save me from the dreadful dilemma of being forced to accept or refuse. If that may not be, I am in the next place, earnestly desirous of searching out the truth, and of knowing whether there does not exist a probability that the government would be just as happily and effectually carried into execution without my aid, as with it. I am truly solicitous to obtain all the previous information which the circumstances will afford, and to determine (when the determination can with propriety be no longer postponed) according to the principles of right reason, and the dictates of a clear conscience; without too great a reference to the unforeseen consequences which may affect my person or reputation. Until that period, I may fairly hold myself open to conviction, though I allow your sentiments to have weight in them; and I shall not pass by your arguments without giving them as dispassionate a consideration as I can possibly bestow upon them.

"In taking a survey of the subject, in whatever point of light I have been able to place it, I will not suppress the acknowledgment, my dear sir, that I have always felt a kind of gloom upon my mind, as often as I have been taught to expect I might, and perhaps must ere long be called to make a decision. You will, I am well assured, believe the assertion (though I have little expectation it would gain credit from those

who are less acquainted with me) that if I should receive the appointment, and should be prevailed upon to accept it; the acceptance would be attended with more diffidence and reluctance, than ever I experienced before in my life. It would be, however, with a fixed and sole determination of lending whatever assistance might be in my power to promote the publick weal, in hopes that at a convenient and early period, my services might be dispensed with; and that I might be permitted once more to retire—to pass an unclouded evening after the stormy day of life, in the bosom of domestick tranquillity."

We have already made copious extracts from the letters of the General on the subject of the Presidency; but as they clearly describe his feelings and views on the near prospect of being again summoned by his country into publick life, they must be interesting to all. We will close them with the following communications made to General Lincoln, who had also communicated to him the expectation of his friends, "I would willingly pass over in silence that part of your letter, in which you mention the persons who are candidates for the two first offices in the executive, if I did not fear the omission might seem to betray a want of confidence. Motives of delicacy have prevented me hitherto from conversing or writing on this subject, whenever I could avoid it with decency. I may, however, with great sincerity, and I believe without offending against modesty or propriety, *say* to *you*, that I most heartily wish the choice to which you allude might not fall upon me; and that if it should, I must reserve to myself the right of making up my final decision, at the last moment, when it can be brought into one view, and when the expediency or inexpediency of a refusal can be more judiciously determined than at present. But be assured, my dear sir, if from any inducement I shall be persuaded ultimately to accept, it will not be (so far as I know my own heart)

from any of a private or personal nature. Every personal consideration conspires to rivet me (if I may use the expression) to retirement. At my time of life, and under my circumstances, nothing in this world can ever draw me from it, unless it be a *conviction* that the partiality of my countrymen had made my services absolutely necessary, joined to a *fear* that my refusal might induce a belief that I preferred the conservation of my own reputation and private ease, to the good of my country. After all, if I should conceive myself in a manner constrained to accept, I call heaven to witness, that this very act would be the greatest sacrifice of my personal feelings and wishes that ever I have been called upon to make. It would be to forego repose and domestick enjoyment for trouble, perhaps publick obloquy; for I should consider myself as entering upon an unexplored field, enveloped on every side with clouds and darkness.

"From this embarrassing situation I had naturally supposed that my declarations at the close of the war would have saved me; and that my sincere intentions, then publickly made known, would have effectually precluded me for ever afterwards from being looked upon as a candidate for any office. This hope, as a last anchor of worldly happiness in old age, I had still carefully preserved; until the publick papers, and private letters from my correspondents in almost every quarter, taught me to apprehend that I might soon be obliged to answer the question, whether I would go again into publick life or not."

In event it appeared, that amidst the discordance of opinion, respecting the merits of the Federal Constitution, there was but one sentiment, through the United States, respecting the man who should administer the government. On counting the votes of the electors of President and Vice President, it was found that General GEORGE WASHINGTON had their unani-

mous suffrage, and was chosen President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March 1789.

On the 14th of April, official information reached him of his election. Having already made up his mind to obey the summons of a whole country, on the second day after this notification, he quitted the quiet walks of Mount Vernon for the arduous duties of the supreme magistracy of his nation. Although grateful for this renewed declaration of the favourable opinion of the community, yet his determination to accept the office was accompanied with diffidence and apprehension. "I wish," he observed, "that there may not be reason for regretting the choice, for indeed all I can promise is, to accomplish that which can be done by an honest zeal." The feelings, with which he entered upon publick life, he left upon his private journal.

"About ten o'clock, I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestick felicity; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York, with the best dispositions to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

He was met on the road by the gentlemen of Alexandria, and conducted to a publick dinner. From the numerous addresses presented to the General on this occasion, we select that of the citizens of Alexandria, because it is a testimonial of the affection and veneration in which his neighbours and friends held his private as well as publick character, and because, in itself it has peculiar interest. The following is the address

"Again your country commands your care. Obedient to its wishes, unmindful of your ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement, and this too at a period of life, when nature itself seems to authorize a preference of repose!

"Not to extol your glory as a soldier; not to pour forth our gratitude for past services; not to acknow

edge the justice of the unexampled honour which has been conferred upon you by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrages of three millions of freemen, in your election to the supreme magistracy; nor to admire the patriotism which directs your conduct, do your neighbours and friends now address you. Themes less splendid, but more endearing, impress our minds. The first and best of citizens must leave us. Our aged must lose their ornament; our youth their model; our agriculture its improver; our commerce its friend; our infant academy its protector; our poor their benefactor, and the interiour navigation of the Potomack (an event replete with the most extensive utility already, by your unremitted exertions, brought into partial use) its institutor and promoter.

"Farewell!—go! and make a grateful people happy, a people, who will be doubly grateful when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

"To that Being, who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we commend you; and after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are called, may he restore to us again, the best of men, and the most beloved fellow citizen!"

To which General WASHINGTON replied as follows:

"GENTLEMEN,

"Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe the painful emotions which I felt in being called upon to determine whether I would accept or refuse the Presidency of the United States. The unanimity in the choice, the opinion of my friends communicated from different parts of Europe as well as from America, the apparent wish of those who were not entirely satisfied with the constitution in its present form; and an ardent desire on my own part to be instrumental in connecting the good will of my countrymen towards each other, have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best (and you, my fellow citizens, are, from your situation, in that number) know better than any

others my love of retirement is so great, that no earthly consideration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution never more to take any share in transactions of a publick nature. For at my age, and in my circumstances, what prospects or advantages could I propose to myself, from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of publick life? I do not feel myself under the necessity of making publick declarations, in order to convince you, gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests. The whole tenour of my life has been open to your inspection; and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge of my future conduct.

"In the mean time I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bade adieu to my domestick connexions, this tender proof of your friendships is but too well calculated still farther to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyments of private life.

"All that now remains for me is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being who, on a former occasion, hath happily brought us together after a long and distressing separation. Perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence—while from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate friends, and kind neighbours, farewell!"

It was the wish of General Washington to avoid parade on his journey to the seat of government, but he found it impossible. Numerous bodies of respectable citizens, and detachments from the militia escorted him the whole distance, and at every place through which he passed, he received the most flattering evidence of the high estimation, in which his countrymen held his talents and his virtues

THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS
WILL BE THE
PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS

Gray's bridge over the Schuylkill was, with much taste, embellished on the occasion. At each end arches were erected composed of laurel, in imitation of a Roman triumphal arch; and on each side was a laurel shrubbery. As the General passed, a youth by the aid of machinery (unperceived by him) let down upon his head a civick crown. Through avenues and streets thronged with people, he passed from the Schuylkill into Philadelphia, and at night the city was illuminated.

At Trenton, the ladies presented him with a tribute of gratitude for the protection which, twelve years before, he gave them, worthy of the taste and refinement of the sex. On the bridge over the creek which runs through this place, a triumphal arch was erected on thirteen pillars; these were entwined with laurel and decorated with flowers. On the front of the arch was the following inscription, in large gilt letters,

THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS
WILL BE THE
PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS.

On the centre of the arch above the inscription was a dome of flowers and evergreens encircling the dates of two events particularly interesting to the inhabitants of New-Jersey, viz. the successful assault on the Hessian post in Trenton, and the gallant stand made by General WASHINGTON at the same creek on the evening preceding the battle of Princeton. A numerous party of matrons, holding their daughters in their hands, who were dressed in white and held on their arms baskets of flowers, assembled at this place, and on his approach the daughters sung the following ode,

Welcome, Mighty Chief, once more
Welcome to this grateful shore;
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow,
Aims at THEE the fatal blow.

Virgins fair and matrons grave
Those thy conquering arms did save,
Build for THEE triumphal bowers;
Strew ye fair his way with flowers,
Strew your HERO's way with flowers.

At the last line the flowers were strewed before him.

On the eastern shore of New-Jersey, he was met by a Committee of Congress, and accompanied over the river in an elegant barge, of thirteen oars, and manned by thirteen branch pilots.

"The display of boats," observes the General in his diary, "which attended and joined on this occasion, some with vocal and others with instrumental musick on board, the decorations of the ships, the roar of cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people which rent the sky as I passed along the wharves, filled my mind with sensations as painful (contemplating the reverse of this scene, which may be the case after all my endeavours to do good) as they were pleasing."

He landed on the 23d of April at the stairs on Murray's wharf, which were highly ornamented for the purpose. At this place the Governour of New-York received him, and with military honours, and amidst an immense concourse of people, conducted him to his apartments in the city. At the close of the day, Foreign Ministers and other characters of distinction, made him congratulatory visits, and the publick exhibition was at night closed by a brilliant illumination.

CHAPTER XI.

Inauguration of the President—His Address to Congress—Answers of the two Houses—The Arrangements of his Household—His Regulations for Visitors—The Reasons of their adoption—The Relations of the United States with Foreign Powers—Congress establishes the Departments of the Government—The President fills them—He visits New-England—His Reception—Addresses to him—His Answers—Negotiations with the Indians—Treaty with the Creeks—War with the Wabash and Miamis Tribes—General Harmar's Expedition—St. Clair defeated—General Wayne victorious and makes a Treaty with them—Second Session of Congress—Fiscal Arrangements of the Secretary of the Treasury—Indisposition of the President—He visits Mount Vernon—Meets Congress at Philadelphia—His Tour to the Southern States—Second Congress—The President refuses his signature to the Representative Bill—Contemplates retiring to Private Life—Consents to be a Candidate for the Second Presidency.

1789. In adjusting the ceremonies of the inauguration of the President, Congress determined that the oath of office should be administered to him in an open gallery adjoining the Hall of the Senate. Accordingly on the 30th of April, General Washington attended, and, in a view of a vast assemblage of people, was constitutionally qualified for the administration of the government. On his being proclaimed President of the United States, reiterated acclamations testified the interest and the pleasure which the attending multitude felt in the transaction.

The President immediately entered the Senate chamber and made the following Speech to the two branches of the Legislature.

"Fellow citizens of the senate, and of the house of representatives,

"Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and

love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferiour endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if in accepting this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me; my errour will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

"Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the publick summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a govern-

ment instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every publick and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with a humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

"By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President 'to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.' The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer you to the great Constitutional Charter under which we are assembled; and which in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actu

ate me to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of a free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

"I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness—between duty and advantage—between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of publick prosperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained: and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally* staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

"Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by

the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the publick good; for I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristick rights of freemen, and a regard for the publick harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

"To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty, required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuation in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the publick good may be thought to require.

"Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he

has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend."

The answer of the Senate was highly respectful and affectionate.

"The unanimous suffrage of the elective body in your favour, is peculiarly expressive of the gratitude, confidence, and affection of the citizens of America, and is the highest testimonial at once of your merit, and their esteem. We are sensible, Sir, that nothing but the voice of your fellow citizens could have called you from a retreat, chosen by the fondest predilection, endeared by habit, and consecrated to the repose of declining years. We rejoice, and with us, all America, that, in obedience to the call of our common country, you have returned once more to publick life. In you all parties confide, in you all interests unite, and we have no doubt that your past services, great as they have been, will be equalled by your future exertions; and that your prudence and sagacity, as a statesman, will tend to avert the dangers to which we were exposed, to give stability to the present government, and dignity and splendour to that country, which your skill and valour as a soldier, so eminently contributed to raise to independence and empire.

"When we contemplate the coincidence of circumstances, and wonderful combination of causes which gradually prepared the people of this country for independence; when we contemplate the rise, progress, and termination of the late war, which gave them a name among the nations of the earth, we are, with you, unavoidably led to acknowledge and adore the

great Arbiter of the universe, by whom empires rise and fall. A review of the many signal instances of divine interposition in favour of this country, claims our most pious gratitude. And permit us, Sir, to observe, that among the great events which have led to the formation and establishment of a federal government, we esteem your acceptance of the office of President, as one of the most propitious and important."

The House, equally affectionate and respectful in their answer, say:

"The Representatives of the People of the United States, present their congratulations on the event by which your fellow citizens have attested the pre-eminence of your merit. You have long held the first place in their esteem; you have often received tokens of their affection; you now possess the only proof that remained of their gratitude for your services, of their reverence for your wisdom, and of their confidence in your virtues. You enjoy the highest, because the truest honour, of being the First Magistrate, by the unanimous choice of the freest people on the face of the earth.

"We well know the anxieties with which you must have obeyed the summons, from the repose reserved for your declining years, into publick scenes, of which you had taken your leave for ever; but the obedience was due to the occasion. It is already applauded by the universal joy which welcomes you to your station, and we cannot doubt that it will be rewarded with all the satisfaction, with which an ardent love for your fellow citizens must review successful efforts to promote their happiness.

"This anticipation is not justified merely by the past experience of your signal services. It is particularly suggested by the pious impressions under which you commence your administration, and the enlightened maxims by which you mean to conduct it. We feel with you the strongest obligations to adore the in-

visible hand which has led the American people through so many difficulties, to cherish a conscious responsibility for the destiny of republican liberty, and to seek the only sure means of preserving and recommending the precious deposite in a system of legislation, founded on the principles of an honest policy, and directed by the spirit of a diffusive patriotism.

"The question arising out of the fifth article of the Constitution will receive all the attention demanded by its importance, and will, we trust, be decided under the influence of all the considerations to which you allude.

"In forming the pecuniary provisions for the executive department, we shall not lose sight of a wish resulting from motives which give it a peculiar claim to our regard. Your resolution, in a moment critical to the liberties of your country, to renounce all personal emolument, was among the many presages of your patriotick services, which have been amply fulfilled; and your scrupulous adherence now to the law then imposed on yourself, cannot fail to demonstrate the purity, whilst it increases the lustre of a character, which has so many titles to admiration.

"Such are the sentiments with which we have thought fit to address you. They flow from our own hearts, and we verily believe, that among the millions we represent, there is not a virtuous citizen whose heart will disown them.

"All that remains is, that we join in your fervent supplications for the blessings of Heaven on our country; and that we add our own for the choicest of those blessings on the most beloved of her citizens."

While waiting the movements of the Legislature, the President endeavoured fully to acquaint himself with the state of publick affairs, and for this purpose, he called upon those who had been the heads of departments under the confederation, to report to him the situation of their respective concerns. He also, hav

ing consulted with his friends, adopted a system for the order of his own household, for the regulation of his hours of business, and of intercourse with those who, in a formal manner, visited him as the Supreme Magistrate of the nation.

He publickly announced that neither visits of business nor ceremony would be expected on Sunday, as he wished to reserve this day sacredly to himself Other regulations, adopted at this time, were at a subsequent period complained of as partaking too much of monarchical customs. To a friend in Virginia, who had made known these complaints, the President gave the following reasons for their adoption.

"While the eyes of America, perhaps of the world, are turned to this government, and many are watching the movements of those who are concerned in its administration, I should like to be informed through so good a medium, of the publick opinion of both men and measures, and of none more than myself:—not so much of what may be thought commendable parts, if any, of my conduct, as of those which are conceived to be of a different complexion. The man who means to commit no wrong, will never be guilty of enormities, consequently can never be unwilling to learn what are ascribed to him as foibles. If they are really such, the knowledge of them, in a well disposed mind, will go half way towards a reform. If they are not errours, he can explain and justify the motives of his actions. At a distance from the theatre of action, truth is not always related without embellishments, and sometimes is entirely perverted, from a misconception of the causes which produced the effects that are the subject of censure.

"This leads me to think that a system which I found it indispensably necessary to adopt upon my first coming to this city, might have undergone severe strictures, and have had motives, very foreign from those that governed me, assigned as the causes thereof—I

mean first, returning *no* visits; second, appointing certain days to receive them generally, (not to the exclusion, however, of visits on any other days under particular circumstances) and third, at first entertaining no company, and afterwards (until I was unable to entertain any at all) confining it to official characters. A few days evinced the necessity of the two first in so clear a point of view, that had I not adopted it, I should have been unable to have attended to any sort of business, unless I had applied the hours allotted to rest and refreshment to this purpose; for by the time I had done breakfast, and thence until dinner, and afterwards until bed time, I could not get relieved from the ceremony of one visit, before I had to attend to another. In a word, I had no leisure to read or to answer the despatches that were pouring in upon me from all quarters.

"Before the custom was established, which now accommodates foreign characters, strangers, and others, who, from motives of curiosity, respect to the Chief Magistrate, or any other cause, are induced to call upon me, I was unable to attend to any business whatsoever. For gentlemen, consulting their own convenience rather than mine, were calling from the time I rose from breakfast, often before, until I sat down to dinner. This, as I resolved not to neglect my publick duties, reduced me to the choice of one of these alternatives; either to refuse them *altogether*, or to appropriate a time for the reception of them. The *first* would, I well knew, be disgusting to many; the latter, I expected, would undergo animadversions from those who would find fault with or without cause. To please every body was impossible. I therefore adopted that line of conduct which combined publick advantage with private convenience, and which in my judgment was unexceptionable in itself.

"These visits are optional. They are made without invitation. Between the hours of three and four

every Tuesday I am prepared to receive them. Gentlemen, often in great numbers, come and go, chat with each other, and act as they please. A porter shows them into the room, and they retire from it when they choose, and without ceremony. At their first entrance, they salute me, and I them, and as many as I can talk to, I do. What pomp there is in all this, I am unable to discover. Perhaps it consists in not sitting: to this, two reasons are opposed; first, it is unusual; secondly, (which is a more substantial one) because I have no room large enough to contain a third of the chairs which would be sufficient to admit it. If it is supposed that ostentation, or the fashions of courts, (which, by the bye, I believe originate oftener in convenience, not to say necessity, than is generally imagined) gave rise to this custom, I will boldly affirm that *no* supposition was ever more erroneous; for were I to indulge my inclinations, every moment that I could withdraw from the fatigues of my station, should be spent in retirement. That they are not, proceeds from the sense I entertain of the propriety of giving to every one as free access as consists with that respect which is due to the chair of government; and that respect, I conceive, is neither to be acquired or preserved but by maintaining a just medium between much state, and too great familiarity.

"Similar to the above, but of a more familiar and sociable kind, are the visits of every Friday afternoon to Mrs. Washington, where I always am. These publick meetings, and a dinner once a week to as many as my table will hold, with the references to and from the different departments of state, and other communications with all parts of the union, is as much, if not more, than I am able to undergo; for I have already had, within less than a year, two severe attacks;—the last worse than the first:—a third, it is more than probable, will put me to sleep with my fathers—at what distance this may be, I know not."

At the commencement of the Presidency of General WASHINGTON, a variety of circumstances combined to create anxiety and apprehension respecting the operations of the government.

The relation of the country with foreign powers was critical and embarrassing. Spain discovered jealousies of the American people, and manifested a disposition to check their progress to national wealth and strength. She had refused negotiation with the American government, and denied to its subjects the navigation of the Mississippi south of the boundary of the United States.

Between Great Britain and the United States, great causes of altercation existed. Just complaints of the non-execution of essential articles of the treaty of peace were mutually made, and an irritable state of mind appeared in both nations, which rendered the adjustment of the controversy the more difficult.

France early discovered a disposition to take advantage of the partiality of the American people, to gain an influence in their councils, and to acquire the control of their destiny.

The Indians, through the whole extent of the western frontier, manifested great inquietude. Their jealousies of the United States were supposed to have been excited by the intrigues of Spanish and British partisans, and most of the tribes assumed a very threatening attitude.

In addition to these foreign difficulties, there were considerations of a domestick nature, peculiarly calculated to excite apprehension.

The whole plan of the Federal Government was new. In no branch of it was there a precedent; but first principles and general rules were to be established in every department. The United States were without funds or revenue, and were destitute of publick credit.

Many distinguished characters, in different parts of

the Union, were from the first opposed to the Federal Constitution. Debates in state Conventions on its principles, had enkindled no inconsiderable degree of animosity. It had been ratified in them generally by small majorities, and in some instances this majority had been obtained, by annexing provisional amendments to the ratification. It was therefore to be apprehended that many of the members of the Legislature were hostile to the Constitution, and would, under the idea of amending, sacrifice its spirit, or by their opposition to every salutary measure, prevent an experiment of a republican form of Government, auspiciously begun, from being fairly completed.

Happily the American people retained their confidence in those distinguished statesmen, who had been their leaders in the controversy with Great Britain, which terminated in National Independence; and these statesmen, imitating at this crisis the publick spirit of the General of the revolutionary war, consented to forego the pleasures and emoluments of private life, for the service of their country. Many of them were the successful candidates for popular suffrage to compose the Legislature of the nation, and the first Congress consisted of men eminent for their talents and political information, and venerable for their patriotism and virtue. A decided majority of these were the friends of the Constitution, and were disposed to make every exertion to carry it into execution upon a liberal and efficient plan.

One of the first acts of the Legislature was to establish those departments which were necessary to aid the Executive in the administration of the government.

In filling these departments, the President was to perform an important and delicate duty. Applications for office had been numerous, and the following extract of a letter written to a friend, who had applied even before General WASHINGTON accepted the Presi-

dency, will show the disposition with which he exe cu.ed this trust.

"Should it become absolutely necessary for me to occupy the station in which your letter presupposes me, I have determined to go into it, perfectly free from all engagements of every nature whatsoever A conduct in conformity to this resolution, would enable me in balancing the various pretensions of different candidates for appointments, to act with a sole reference to justice and the publick good. This is, in substance, the answer that I have given to all applications (and they are not few) which have already been made. Among the places sought after in these applications, I must not conceal that the office to which you particularly allude, is comprehended. This fact, I tell you merely as a matter of information. My general manner of thinking, as to the propriety of holding myself totally disengaged, will apologize for my not enlarging further on the subject.

"Though I am sensible that the publick suffrage which places a man in office, should prevent him from being swayed, in the execution of it, by his private inclinations, yet he may assuredly, without violating his duty, be indulged in the continuance of his former attachments."

His consequent nominations fully proved the purity of these declarations, and attested that his selection of characters, for the respective offices to be filled, was made with great judgment and prudence. Removed from the influence of local and family considerations, he directed his attention to the publick interest. Where qualifications were equal, the candidate who could claim the merit of publick service, had the preference in his appointment.

His cabinet was composed of Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, Colonel Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, General Knox, Secretary of War, and Mr. Edmund Randolph, Attorney General.

The session of Congress continued to September· perfect harmony subsisted through this period between the Executive and the Legislature, and no circumstance threatened to interrupt it.

At the adjournment of Congress, the President made preparations for a tour through New-England, to view the improvements of the country and to judge of the disposition of the people towards the newly established government. Accordingly, on the 15th of October, he began his journey; and, passing through Connecticut and Massachusetts went as far as Portsmouth in New-Hampshire; returning by a different route, he arrived on the 13th of November at New-York.

Many circumstances were combined during this visit to excite his sensibility and to render it grateful to his best feelings. His journey carried him through the most populous and cultivated part of the United States, and gave him a favourable opportunity to notice the progress of the country in those improvements, which constitute the strength, the wealth, and ornament of society. He visited the scene of his first campaign, and must have experienced elevated reflections in contrasting the present situation of himself and his country, with his and their condition at the commencement of the revolutionary war. Every where he remarked a steady attachment to the Federal Government, and received the most grateful evidence of unqualified approbation of the measures of the Administration. In every place through which he passed, business was suspended, and all classes of citizens were eagerly employed to obtain a sight of the Father of their country, and to join in the common expressions of veneration and attachment. Military parade, processions, and triumphal arches, awaited him in those populous towns at which he stopped, and so fully was the publick curiosity engrossed by his journey, that the news-papers of the day were filled with narratives of its progress and termination

At Cambridge, the Lieutenant Governour and Council of Massachusetts waited upon him and accompanied him to Boston, escorted by a numerous collection of citizens, under the direction of the Marshal of the District, and the Sheriff of Suffolk. The Selectmen received him at the entrance of the town, and from it a procession of the inhabitants was formed, which extended to the State House; an interesting part of this procession, and which engaged the special attention of the President, was the male children of the town, under their respective literary instructers. This procession opened to the right and left, and he on horseback, preceded by companies of artillery and infantry, by the Lieutenant Governour and council, the Marshall and Sheriff, passed to the State House. Here a triumphal arch was erected from the State House across Cornhill to the opposite houses. On the top of the arch was a gallery, in which were placed a select choir of singers of both sexes. In the middle of the gallery a pyramid was erected. On one side of this over the arch, was the inscription, "TO THE MAN WHO UNITES ALL HEARTS," and on the opposite side "TO COLUMBIA'S FAVOURITE SON."

At the end of the arch next the State House, on a large ground, was this inscription, "BOSTON RELIEVED MARCH 17, 1776." The President was introduced through the State House to a handsome gallery at the west end of that building, erected near the arch on seven pillars. As soon as he appeared in view, loud acclamations broke from the concourse below. He bowed to them, on which the choir sang an appropriate Ode. He was then conducted to a house provided for his use, and elegantly furnished from the families of individual gentlemen.

Addresses were presented to him from civil, literary, and religious corporations, and from all other societies of any distinction. In these, grateful notice was taken

of his publick services, and particularly, of the sacrifice he made of private happiness in accepting the Presidency.

In his answers, the President reciprocated the benevolent wishes of his countrymen, in language calculated to confirm their confidence and affection. He thus replied to a respectful address from the inhabitants of Boston.

"I rejoice with you my fellow citizens, in every circumstance that declares your prosperity; and I do so most cordially because you have well deserved to be happy.

"Your love of liberty, your respect for the laws, your habits of industry, and your practice of the moral and religious obligations, are the strongest claims to national and individual happiness. And they will, I trust, be firmly and lastingly established."

In the renewal of direct intercourse between General WASHINGTON and the companions of his toils and glory in the tented field, we perceive the most interesting effusion of the refined feelings of the human heart.

"Amidst the various gratulations," says the society of Cincinnati of Massachusetts, "which your arrival in this metropolis has occasioned, permit us, the members of the society of the Cincinnati in this Commonwealth, most respectfully to assure you of the ardour of esteem and affection you have so indelibly fixed in our hearts, as our glorious leader in war, and illustrious example in peace.

"After the solemn and endearing farewell on the banks of the Hudson, which our anxiety presaged as final, most peculiarly pleasing is the present unexpected meeting. On this occasion we cannot avoid the recollection of the various scenes of toil and danger through which you conducted us, and while we contemplate various trying periods of the war, and the triumphs of peace, we rejoice to behold you, induced

by the unanimous voice of your country, entering upon other trials, and other services, alike important, and in some points of view, equally hazardous. For the completion of the great purposes which a grateful country has assigned you, long, very long may your invaluable life be preserved. And as the admiring world, while considering you as a soldier, have long wanted a comparison, may your virtues and talents as a statesman leave them without a parallel.

"It is not in words to express an attachment found ed like ours. We can only say, that when soldiers, our greatest pride was a promptitude of obedience to your orders; as citizens, our supreme ambition is to maintain the character of firm supporters of that noble fabrick of Federal Government over which you preside.

"As members of the society of the Cincinnati, it will be our endeavour to cherish those sacred principles of charity and paternal attachment which our institution inculcates. And while our conduct is thus regulated, we can never want the patronage of the first of patriots and the best of men."

To which the President thus replied.

"In reciprocating with gratitude and sincerity, the multiplied and affecting gratulations of my fellow citizens of this Commonwealth, they will all of them with justice allow me to say, that none can be dearer to me than the affectionate assurances which you have expressed. Dear indeed is the occasion which restores an intercourse with my faithful associates in prosperous and adverse fortune; and enhanced are the triumphs of peace participated with those whose virtue and valour so largely contributed to procure them To that virtue and valour, your country has confessed her obligations. Be mine the grateful task to add the testimony of a connexion which it was my pride to own in the field, and is now my happiness to acknowledge in the enjoyments of peace and freedom.

"Regulating your conduct by those principles which have heretofore governed your actions as men, soldiers, and citizens, you will repeat the obligations conferred on your country, and you will transmit to posterity an example that must command their admiration and grateful praise. Long may you continue to enjoy the endearments of paternal attachment and the heartfelt happiness of reflecting that you have faithfully done your duty.

"While I am permitted to possess the consciousness of this worth, which has long bound me to you by every tie of affection and esteem, I will continue to be your sincere and faithful friend."

The first diplomatick transaction of the President was with the Indian tribes. He conceived it to be true policy to "cultivate an intimate intercourse with the Indians upon principles calculated to advance their happiness, and to attach them firmly to the United States."

With these views he early opened negotiations with them, and the interests of several of the states being closely connected with treaties that might be made, he asked, during the first session of Congress, the advice of the Senate upon questions that were at issue.

The first attempt to establish a peace with the Creek Indians failed. M'Gillivray, their Chief, was the son of a white man, and his resentment had been keenly excited against the state of Georgia by the confiscation of lands which his father had holden; and more particularly by the claim of that government to a large tract on the Oconee in virtue of an Indian purchase, the validity of which the Creek nation denied. General Lincoln, Mr. Griffin, and Colonel Humphries were deputed Commissioners to negotiate with the Creeks in the summer of 1789. They met M'Gillivray with other Chiefs, and about two thousand of the tribe at Rock landing, on the Oconee, on the frontiers of Georgia. Although first appearances promised

success to the mission, yet M'Gillivray suddenly broke off the negotiation for the ostensible reason of a dispute about boundaries, but really, as was supposed, through the influence of the Spanish government.

The situation of the United States in their relation with the Indians became more and more critical and embarrassing, and war was threatened with all the tribes from Canada to Louisiana. The danger was the more formidable from the supposition that the jealousies of the Indians were excited by the intrigues of British and Spanish agents, and that an Indian war would probably lead to hostilities with those powers.

Ardently desirous to secure the frontiers from the horrours of Indian warfare, the President again attempted to negotiate with the Creeks, without committing the dignity of government. He sent Colo. Willett, a gallant revolutionary officer, into their country, apparently upon private business; but furnished with credentials, to be used if he found M'Gillivray disposed for peace. This second mission proved successful. M'Gillivray and a number of Creek Chiefs were induced to repair to New-York, where negotiations were immediately opened, and a treaty soon established; although the Secretary of East Florida came to New-York with a large sum of money, under a pretence of purchasing flour, but in fact to prevent M'Gillivray from treating.

The attempt to establish peace with the Indians of the Wabash and the Miamis did not terminate so successfully. The American settlers on that frontier continued to suffer from their hostilities, and all appearances indicated, that they could be brought into a pacifick disposition, only by being made themselves to feel the miseries of war.

The President was decidedly of the opinion that on the *failure* of negotiation, a military force should be employed in their country, which their united power could not successfully resist, and which should be ade-

quate to the conquest of their towns, and the destruction of their villages. This, he conceived, policy, economy, and humanity dictated. But Congress, in their military establishment, did not meet his views, and at the moment he gave his sanction to the bill, he entered in his private journal, that he did not conceive the military establishment was adequate to the exigence of the government, and to the protection it was intended to afford.

For the sake of a connected view of Indian affairs, we will in this place give a narrative of subsequent transactions, although we shall be carried out of the order of time in which events took place.

The attempt to negotiate with the Indians northwest of the Ohio having proved abortive, the President conceived himself bound to use the means Congress had put into his hands to protect the frontiers; and accordingly General Harmar was sent in September 1791, into the Indian territories with a force, consisting of about three hundred regular troops and eleven hundred militia of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, with orders to bring the Indians if possible to action, and to destroy their settlements on the waters of the Scioto and Wabash.

The Savages avoided an engagement with the main body of the American army, but with great spirit attacked a strong detachment which had pursued them, and killed several valuable officers. Harmar destroyed their settlements, but afforded no protection to the frontiers. Several smaller expeditions with various success were made into the Indian country, and in the autumn of 1791 Major General St. Clair marched a force of near two thousand effective men into their territories, and on the fourth of November was attacked and totally defeated by them.

The President, apprehending that the success of the Indians, and the booty they had gained, would have influence to bring other tribes into the war, conceived

that the honour of the nation was concerned to retrieve the American losses, and to afford protection to the frontiers. St. Clair resigning his commission, General Wayne was appointed his successor. The President lost no time in laying before Congress an estimate of such a military force, as he thought would be adequate to the object; and they at length acceded to his proposal. While these preparations were ripening, much complaint was made of the war, and the President was induced, rather from a desire to convince the country that successful warfare was the only means of peace, than from any expectation of success in the mission, to send Colonel Harden and Major Trueman, two valuable officers and worthy men, into the Indian country, to attempt negotiation; but they were both murdered. On the 20th of August, 1794, General Wayne brought the Indians to an engagement, totally defeated them, and destroyed their country on the Miamis.

This action was decisive: it deterred other tribes from entering into the war, and induced the Miamis themselves to treat for peace. On the 3d of August, a treaty was entered into by General Wayne with the Indians northwest of the Ohio, which ended all hostilities, quieted the fears of the frontiers, and gave universal satisfaction.

As early as 1789, the President received authentick intelligence, that Spanish agents were intriguing with the inhabitants of the Western country, to seduce them from their allegiance to the United States. Representations were made them in the name of the government of Spain, that while they were connected with the Atlantick States, the navigation of the Mississippi would be denied them; but if they would assume an independent government, the river should be opened, and their independence supported.

In 1794, Spain, suffering herself the evils of war, was inclined to treat with the United States. She

intimated by her ministers, that the etiquette of her court forbid her to treat with Mr. Short, the American resident at Madrid, yet a higher diplomatick character would be accredited, and negotiations immediately opened with him. The President placed full confidence in Mr. Short, but he thought it policy to meet the friendly propositions of Spain, and in November nominated Mr. Pinckney to be the American Minister at that Court. In the course of the next summer, Mr Pinckney repaired to Madrid, and on the 20th of October, 1795, a treaty was signed between him and the Spanish commissioners, which happily terminated the controversy respecting boundary lines, and the navigation of the Mississippi to the satisfaction of the nation.

On the 8th of January, 1790, the President met Congress at their second session.

In his speech he congratulated them on the success of their measures, and recommended a variety of national objects to their serious attention. Among these, the following are the principal. Provision for national defence; the means of holding intercourse with foreign nations; establishing a rule of naturalization; uniformity in the currency, weights, and measures of the United States; and the promotion of science and literature.

"Knowledge," he observed, "is in every country the surest basis of publick happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours, it is proportionably essential." And he concluded with the following assurances.

"I shall derive great satisfaction in co-operating with you in the pleasing though arduous task of ensuring to our fellow citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient, and equal government."

The answers of the Senate and the House of Representatives were cordial and respectful, and promised

a continuance of harmony between the Executive and Legislature.

In this session of Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury first reported those fiscal arrangements in support of publick credit, which, in their progress to establishment, were the occasion of warm and animated debates in the Legislature, fully displayed the discordance of political opinion among the members, and excited that party spirit which has since convulsed the United States.

The President readily gave his sanction to these fiscal establishments of the Legislature, yet by this act he seemed not to lose the good opinion of the opposition; the blame and odium fell upon the Secretary of the Treasury, and upon the northern federal members of Congress.

The incessant application to business had a visible effect upon the constitution of the President, and at this period he was for a second time attacked with a violent disease, which put his life in imminent danger. At the close of the session, therefore, he determined to give himself a short relaxation in a visit to Mount Vernon. He first made a tour to Rhode-Island, which not being then in the Union, had not been included in his visit to New-England; and at Newport and Providence he received every attention which affection and respect could dictate.

This retirement was of essential service to his health, and at the close of autumn he returned to Philadelphia to meet the Legislature; to which place Congress had adjourned, at the close of the year 1790. At this time the President noticed the rising disturbances in Europe, and advised to those precautionary measures, which had a tendency to secure to the United States the benefit of their commerce. Mentioning to the House the sufficiency of the established revenue to the purposes to which it was appropriated, he expressed his hope "that it would be a favourite

policy with them not merely to secure the interest of the debt funded, but as far, and as fast as the growing resources of the country will permit, to exonerate it of the principal itself." The address was closed in the following impressive manner.

"In pursuing the various and weighty business of the present session, I indulge the fullest persuasion that your consultations will be marked with wisdom, and animated by the love of country. In whatever belongs to my duty, you shall have all the co-operation which an undiminished zeal for its welfare can inspire It will be happy for us both, and our best reward, if by a successful administration of our respective trusts, we can make the established government more and more instrumental in promoting the good of our fellow citizens, and more and more the object of their attachment and confidence."

The respect and confidence of the Legislature in the Executive appeared on this occasion without diminution; although one of the measures of the President was for the first time condemned. A member from Georgia pronounced the treaty with the Creek Indians to be a violation of the rights of that state.

In this session of Congress the Bank of the United States was established. Its constitutionality had been deeply argued in the Legislative body, and came before the Executive as a question involving the highest national interest. It was reviewed in the Cabinet with the deliberation it merited. The Council, on this occasion, as on most others, were divided. Messrs. Jefferson and Randolph expressed as their decided opinion that the law was unconstitutional. Messrs Hamilton and Knox were fully convinced of its constitutionality. The President called upon each member of his Council for the reasons of his opinion in writing. These he maturely weighed, and being convinced himself that the law was constitutional, put his signature to it.

With the 3d of March, 1791, terminated the period of the first Congress.

President WASHINGTON having made the necessary arrangements, and appointed an Executive Council to attend to the business of the government, soon after the close of the session, commenced a journey to the Southern States. On his way he stopped at the Potomack, and, pursuant to the powers with which Congress had vested him, marked out the site of the Federal City, designed as the permanent seat of government. In the course of this tour he received the same general expressions of love and veneration for his character, and of confidence in his government, which he had experienced in his northern circuit. And he derived great satisfaction in contemplating the improvements of the country, and remarking the evidences of attachment to the Federal Government. The feelings excited by this journey are fully expressed in the following letter, written after his return to Philadelphia.

"In my late tour through the Southern States, I experienced great satisfaction in seeing the good effects of the general government in that part of the union The people at large have felt the security which it gives, and the equal justice which it administers to them. The Farmer, the Merchant, and the Mechanick, have seen their several interests attended to, and from thence they unite in placing a confidence in their Representatives, as well as in those in whose hands the execution of the laws is placed. Industry has there taken place of idleness, and economy of dissipation. Two or three years of good crops, and a ready market for the produce of their lands, have put every one in good humour; and in some instances, they even impute to the government what is due only to the goodness of Providence.

"The establishment of publick credit is an immense point gained in our national concerns. This I believe exceeds the expectation of the most sanguine among

us;- and a late instance, unparalleled in this country, has been given of the confidence reposed in our measures, by the rapidity with which the subscriptions to the Bank of the United States were filled. In two hours after the books were opened by the commissioners, the whole number of shares were taken up, and four thousand more applied for than were allowed by the institution. This circumstance was not only pleasing as it related to the confidence in government, but also as it exhibited an unexpected proof of the resources of our citizens."

The hearts of all Americans were with General WASHINGTON at this period; but notwithstanding these publick appearances, there was in fact much hostility to the government at the Southward.

On the 24th of October, 1791, the President met the second Congress in the established form.

During this session a great national question came before the Legislature which the President was compelled ultimately to decide.

The constitution provides that there shall not be more than one Representative to thirty thousand inhabitants. An enumeration having been made, the House of Representatives passed a bill providing for each state to send one Representative for every thirty thousand of its population. This ratio in several instances leaving a large fraction, operated unequally on the small states. The Senate, to cure the evil, assumed a new principle of apportionment. They found the whole population of the United States, and, dividing this aggregate number by thirty thousand, took the quotient as the number of Representatives, and then apportioned this number upon the several states according to their population; to which the House concurred. When the President had the bill before him for his signature, he took the opinion of his Cabinet upon the constitutionality of the arrangement. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Randolph thought the bill unconstitutional

General Knox was undecisive, and Colonel Hamilton conceived that the expression of the Constitution might be applied to the United States, or to the several states, and thought it best to coincide with the construction of the Legislature. After due deliberation, the President thought the bill unconstitutional, and not hesitating to do his duty, he returned it with the following objections.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

"I have maturely considered the act, passed by the two Houses, entitled 'an act for the apportionment of Representatives among the several states according to the first enumeration,' and I return it to your House, wherein it originated, with the following objections.

"First, The Constitution has prescribed that Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, and there is no proportion or division which, applied to the respective numbers of the states, will yield the number and allotment of Representatives proposed by the bill.

"Secondly, The Constitution has also provided, that the number of Representatives shall not exceed one for thirty thousand, which restriction is by fair and obvious construction, to be applied to the separate and respective numbers of the states, and the bill has allotted to eight of the states more than one for thirty thousand."

The adopted mode was in consequence of the dissent of the Executive laid aside, and, in a new bill, a Representative for every thirty-three thousand to each state was substituted.

The first Presidency of General WASHINGTON closed without other occurrences of great magnitude. The last session of the second Congress was violent and impassioned, and the members separated in a state of great irritation, but neither they nor their constituents had as yet impeached the motives of the President,

yet it was then evident that, if he remained at the head of government, his reputation must soon pass the ordeal of party conflict. He had determined to decline being a candidate for the Presidency at a second election, and to this purpose, had written a valedictory address to the American people; but the critical state of the country, and the urgent entreaties of his friends induced him to relinquish the determination.

CHAPTER XII.

General Washington re-elected President—State of Parties—Division in the Cabinet—The President endeavours to promote union—Influence of the French Revolution—Measures to secure the Neutrality of the United States in the War between France and England—Mr. Genet's illegal practices—He insults the Government—The Executive restricts him—He appeals to the People—They support the Administration—The President determines to arrest Genet—He is recalled—Negotiation with Britain—Insurrection in Pennsylvania—Democratick Societies—British Treaty—Communication between the French Executive and the Legislature of the United States—The President refuses to the House of Representatives the Papers respecting Diplomatick transactions—His interpositions in favour of the Marquis La Fayette—Takes the Son of the Marquis under his Protection and Patronage.

1793–7. When the constitutional period arrived for the re-election of a President, it appeared, that General Washington had a second time the unanimous suffrage of his country for this exalted office. He entered upon its duties in the prospect, that the administration of the government would be attended with accumulated difficulty.

The character of the American patriot is with reluctance blended in these pages with events of a local or temporary nature. It is painful to reflect, that his fair fame was even for a moment sullied by the foul breath of calumny. The pen is indignant to record charges against his honour and his patriotism, charges which their authors knew to be unfounded and which were

made only to answer the purposes of a party. But it is impossible to portray the wisdom, the firmness, and prudence which were displayed during his second Presidency, or to show the good fortune which attended it, without bringing into distinct view the circumstances under which he acted. Without a knowledge of the difficulties which he surmounted, and the opposition which he conquered, posterity will have no adequate conception of the merits of this period of his administration.

The difference of political opinion arising from pursuits of personal ambition, from discordant views of national and state policy, and from the danger to be apprehended from the encroachments of democracy, or from the abuse of power in the constituted government, had, since the establishment of the Federal Constitution regularly increased in strength and asperity. It had appeared in all the important debates of Congress, had pervaded every part of the United States, and under its influence, two political parties were by this time fully established, and nearly balanced; the one the warm advocates, the other the determined opponents of the measures of the government.

Although the President had readily given his sanction to those acts of the government which had agitated in the highest degree the passions of parties, yet there was that in his character which forbade his political enemies to denominate him the head of a party. He had strong hold of the affections and confidence of the great mass of his countrymen, and the most daring of the oppositionists thought it as yet impolitick to assail his patriotism; but a crisis was evidently approaching, when he would be under the necessity of putting his personal influence to hazard, of subjecting himself to the obloquy of a virulent party, and of sustaining the assault of disappointed ambition.

Unfortunately the spirit of political controversy and division which agitated the nation, entered the Cabi-

not of the Executive, and discovered itself in almost every important subject that was submitted to their discussion. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Hamilton were directly opposed to each other on almost all important national questions. This opposition being frequently warmed by the collision of debate, finally settled into implacable political and personal animosity. The President noticed this hostility between his counsellors with grief and mortification; and unwilling to part with either, he endeavoured to reconcile them. In a letter addressed to the Secretary of State in August 1792, after stating the critical situation of the United States, with respect to foreign nations, he thus feelingly touched upon the animosity that existed in the Cabinet.

"How unfortunate, how much to be regretted then, that while we are encompassed on all sides with avowed enemies, and insidious friends, internal dissensions should be harrowing and tearing our vitals. The last, to me, is the most serious, the most alarming, and the most afflicting of the two; and without more charity for the opinions of one another in government matters, or some more infallible criterion by which the truth of speculative opinions, before they have undergone the test of experience, are to be forejudged than has yet fallen to the lot of fallibility, I believe it will be difficult if not impracticable to manage the reins of government, or keep the parts of it together; for if, instead of laying our shoulders to the machine, after measures are decided on, one pulls this way, and another that, before the utility of the thing is fairly tried, it must inevitably be torn asunder; and in my opinion, the fairest prospect of happiness and prosperity that ever was presented to man, will be lost, perhaps for ever.

"My earnest wish and fondest hope therefore is, that instead of wounding suspicions, and irritating charges, there may be liberal allowances, mutual for

bearances, and temporizing yielding on all sides. Under the exercise of these, matters will go on smoothly, and if possible, more prosperously. Without them every thing must rub; the wheels of government will clog; our enemies will triumph; and by throwing their weight into the disaffected scale, may accomplish the ruin of the goodly fabrick we have been erecting.

"I do not mean to apply this advice, or these observations, to any particular person or character. I have given them in the same general terms to other officers of the government, because the disagreements which have arisen from difference of opinions, and the attacks which have been made upon almost all the measures of government, and most of its executive officers, have for a long time past filled me with painful sensations, and cannot fail, I think, of producing unhappy consequences, at home and abroad."

To a letter of Mr. Jefferson's, in which he endeavoured to prove, that although he wished to amend, yet he had advocated the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the President thus replied.

"I did not require the evidence of the extracts which you enclosed me, to convince me of your attachment to the constitution of the United States, or of your disposition to promote the general welfare of this country; but I regret, deeply regret, the difference of opinion which has arisen, and divided you and another principal officer of the government; and wish devoutly there could be an accommodation of them by mutual yieldings.

"A measure of this sort would produce harmony and consequent good in our publick Councils; and the contrary will inevitably produce confusion and serious mischiefs; and for what? Because mankind cannot see alike, but would adopt different means to obtain the same end. For I will frankly and solemnly declare, that I believe the views of both to be pure

and well meant, and that experience only will decide with respect to the salubrity of the measures which are the subject of this dispute. Why then, when some of the best citizens of the United States, men of discernment, uniform and tried patriots, who have no sinister views to promote, but are chaste in their ways of thinking and acting, are to be found, some on one side, and some on the other of the questions which have caused these agitations; why should either of you be so tenacious of your opinions as to make no allowance for those of the other?

"I could, and indeed was about to add more on this interesting subject, but will forbear at least for the present, after expressing a wish that the cup which has been presented to us may not be snatched from our lips by a discordance of action, when I am persuaded that there is no discordance in your views. I have a great and sincere esteem for you both; and ardently wish that some line could be marked out, by which both of you could walk."

These serious endeavours of the President produced not their desired effect. The hostility of the two Secretaries remained in full force. The Attorney General almost without exception coincided in opinion with Mr. Jefferson; the Secretary of War generally accorded in judgment with Colonel Hamilton, and of consequence the President was deprived of the proper advice of his Council. But he possessed in a degree which few other men ever did, the faculty to suspend his own judgment on every important subject, until he had exhausted every source of information, and had fully weighed the opinions of those about him. He early established it as a maxim never to give his opinion on any important question, until the moment that a decision was necessary, and from a rigid adherence to this maxim, on many critical occasions he derived singular advantage. In deliberating upon national subjects submitted to him as the Supreme Executive,

he appeared to be raised above the influence of passions, prejudice, and every personal and local consideration; and having given every circumstance its weight, to decide from the dictates of pure intelligence.

This was the political situation of the United States, when the French revolution had made such progress as to acquire an influence over the feelings and the sentiments of the American people, and to render the diplomatick concerns of the government with that country critical and embarrassing.

Mr. Morris, the American Minister at Paris, with much discrimination noticed the surprising events that were daily taking place in France, and transmitted a minute account of them to the President; but while waiting for instructions, he cautiously avoided committing the government of his own country.

On the deposition of the Monarch, with all the bloody and ferocious deeds which accompanied it, the President gave Mr. Morris the following information for the direction of his ministerial conduct. The existing administration in France was to be acknowledged; as every nation possesses an inherent right to settle the frame of its own government, and to manage its internal concerns; that the United States would punctually pay the debt due to France, and would furnish any supplies to St. Domingo that the parent country might desire. Mr. Morris was directed to assure France of the friendly disposition of the United States, and that every opportunity would be embraced to promote her welfare.

Attached to republican principles, the President fondly hoped that the struggle in France would terminate in a free government; but his partiality towards the new order of things in that country, was not so great as to render him forgetful that the aid given to America was afforded by the fallen king, or unmindful that he was the head of his own nation, whose indo-

pendence and prosperity he ought to hold in higher estimation than the interest of a foreign people.

The prejudices and partialities of the American people towards England and France, excited by the revolutionary contest, had not at this period wholly subsided, and the commencement of war between *regenerated* France and the Monarchs of Europe, operated upon their feelings like a shock of electricity. Reason and judgment seemed to be laid aside, and nothing was heard but the language of passion. Without inquiring which nation was the first aggressor, Americans could only see a number of despots combined against a sister Republick, virtuously struggling to establish her liberty. Their national vanity was flattered by the persuasion that the spark which lighted the flame of liberty in France, was taken from their altar, or, in the language of Dr. Franklin, "the French having served an apprenticeship in America, set up for themselves in Europe."

If a few individuals, more cool, doubted the tendency, and dreaded the issue of the commotions in France, they were generally denominated aristocrats, the enemies of equal liberty, and the enemies of their own country.

Although there was no intention in the body of American citizens to involve the United States in a war, yet they generally discovered an ardent inclination to grant those favours to France, which must inevitably lead to a state of hostility.

The President was at Mount Vernon on some urgent private business, when the intelligence of the declaration of war between France and England reached the United States. Perceiving the importance of the crisis, he with haste returned to the seat of government. On the day which succeeded that of his arrival, April 17, 1793, he addressed the following letter to the members of his Cabinet, for their solemn deliberations.

"The posture of affairs in Europe, particularly be

tween France and Great Britain, places the United States in a delicate situation, and requires much consideration of the measures which will be proper for them to observe in the war between those powers. With a view to forming a general plan of conduct for the Executive, I have stated and enclosed sundry questions to be considered, preparatory to a meeting at my house to-morrow, where I shall expect to see you at 9 o'clock, and to receive the result of your reflections thereon.

"Question I. Shall a proclamation issue for the purpose of preventing interferences of the citizens of the United States in the war between France and Great Britain, &c.? Shall it contain a declaration of neutrality or not? What shall it contain?

"Question II. Shall a minister from the Republick of France be received?

"Question III. If received, shall it be absolutely, or with qualifications, and if with qualifications, of what kind?

"Question IV. Are the United States obliged by good faith to consider the treaties heretofore made with France, as applying to the present situation of the parties? May they either renounce them or hold them suspended until the government of France shall be *established*?

"Question V. If they have the right, is it expedient to do either? And which?

"Question VI. If they have an option, would it be a breach of neutrality to consider the treaty still in operation?

"Question VII. If the treaties are to be considered as now in operation, is the guarantee in the treaty of alliance applicable to a defensive war only, or to war either offensive or defensive?

"Question VIII. Does the war in which France is engaged appear to be offensive or defensive on her part? Or of a mixed and equivocal character?

"Question IX. If of a mixed and equivocal character, does the guarantee in any event apply to such a war?

"Question X. What is the effect of a guarantee, such as that to be found in the treaty of alliance between the United States and France?

"Question XI: Does any article in either of the treaties prevent ships of war, other than privateers, of the powers opposed to France, from coming into the ports of the United States, to act as convoys to their own merchantmen? Or does it lay any other restraints upon them more than would apply to the ships of war of France?

"Question XII. Should the future Regent of France send a minister to the United States; ought he to be received?

"Question XIII. Is it necessary or adviseable to call together the two Houses of Congress with a view to the present posture of European affairs? If it is, what should be the particular objects of such a call?"

On some of these questions he had already made up his mind, as appears from his communications to Mr. Morris, but he thought it expedient to take a view of the whole subject.

At the proposed meeting, the Cabinet unanimously recommended to the President to issue a Proclamation of Neutrality, forbidding the citizens of the United States to engage in any act of hostility against either of the belligerent powers, or to carry either of them articles, contraband of war, and requiring them to refrain from all acts, unfriendly towards nations with whom the United States were at peace. This Proclamation the President immediately issued.

It was unanimously recommended to the President to receive a Minister from the French Republick. The Cabinet was also united in the opinion, that it was inexpedient to call Congress together. On the other questions the usual difference of sentiment existed.

The Secretary of State and the Attorney General conceived that the changes in the government of France made no essential difference in the relation of the two nations; but that in all respects the intercourse should proceed on principles established with the monarchy. The Secretaries of the Treasury and of War, admitted the right of a nation to change the form of its government at will, but denied its right to involve other nations in all the consequences of alterations they might be disposed to make. The convulsions of France they thought threatened dangers to nations in alliance with her, and maintained that the United States were at liberty to suspend the operation of treaties with that country, when it was necessary for their own safety.

Messrs. Jefferson and Randolph also contended that it was inexpedient to come to any decision respecting the application of the article of the guarantee to the present government. Messrs. Hamilton and Knox were of opinion that France being the aggressor, the war on her part was offensive, that the guarantee respecting only defensive war, did not apply to the present state of things.

The President again required the reasons in writing of each opinion, and after due investigation established those maxims for the support of neutral rights, which he firmly, but temperately maintained through the succeeding period of his administration; and which, amidst conflicts that prostrated the stablest pillars of European governments, preserved his country from the miseries of war.

In the state of the publick sentiment which we have noticed, Mr. Genet landed April 8th, 1793, at Charleston, South-Carolina, as the Minister of Republican France. Ardent in the constitutional temperament of his mind, inflated with the zeal of a new convert to the doctrine of liberty and equality, he conceived that the enlightened world felt a high interest in the revo-

lution of his country, and that every man of virtue was disposed to espouse her cause. His reception at Charleston was calculated to increase his most sanguine views. From the Supreme Magistrate of the state, and from every class of citizens, he received warm expressions of enthusiastick devotion to the new Republick. Taking these as evidence of the general disposition of the American people, he did not wait to present his official letter to the Executive, and to be accredited by him; but availing himself of the favourable situation of Charleston to fit out privateers against the West Indian trade, he presumed to authorize the arming of ships in that port, and to give commissions to cruise against the commerce of a nation with whom the United States were at amity. Prizes taken by these privateers were brought into American harbours, and French Consuls were opening Courts of Admiralty to condemn them.

From Charleston Mr. Genet travelled by land to Philadelphia, receiving in every part of his way the same ardent declarations of attachment to France. Although the unwarrantable conduct of Mr. Genet at Charleston was well known in Philadelphia, yet his entrance into the city was rendered pompous and triumphal, and "crowds flocked from every avenue of the city to meet the Republican Ambassador of an allied nation." On the day after his arrival, addresses were presented to him from particular societies, and from individual citizens, in which they expressed their exultation at the victories of France, and declared that in their opinion, her success was essential to the safety of the American states.

On the 18th of May he presented his credentials to the President. These contained respectful sentiments towards the government of the United States, and abounded with devotions to the American people The President received him in an open and ingenuous

manner, and with sincerity expressed his regard for the French nation.

In this conference Mr. Genet declared that his government had no desire to engage the United States in the European war, but wished them to pursue their own interest; yet he persisted in the exercise of his assumed power, and a French privateer captured an English merchantman within the Capes of the Delaware, while on her way to the ocean. This prize being taken in the waters of the United States, and therefore under the control of the government, the British minister complained of this illicit proceeding, and demanded restitution of the property unlawfully taken from his countrymen.

The Cabinet unanimously agreed that the proceedings of Mr. Genet were not warranted by any existing treaties between the two nations, were therefore violations of neutral rights, and that the government ought to prevent the repetition of them. They also agreed that restitution ought to be made, of the prize taken within the waters of the Delaware. Respecting prizes taken upon the high seas, in virtue of commissions issued by Genet, and brought into the American ports, the Cabinet were divided. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Randolph held that the government was under no obligation to restore them to their original owners. Colonel Hamilton and General Knox contended that, to maintain an honest neutrality, the United States were bound to restore the prizes.

The President took time to deliberate on those points on which his Council were not agreed.

Principles in which they were united, he established; and directed the Secretary of State to give the necessary information to the Ministers of France and Britain.

Mr. Genet complained heavily of these rules of the American Government, as a violation of neutral right,

and as a breach of existing treaties between the two nations.

In his comments upon these treaties, he claimed for France every thing which the two nations had bound themselves not to grant to other countries, converting negative stipulations which respected other nations, into grants of positive privileges to the contracting parties.

He was informed, that out of respect to him, the subject had been reviewed in the Cabinet; but that the President saw no reason to change his opinion. Mr. Genet still refused acquiescence, and seemed to have entertained the expectation, that he should be able so far to avail himself of the partiality of the Americans for France, as to bend the Administration to his own purposes, or to overthrow it.

Prosecutions having been commenced against two of the American citizens, whom Genet engaged at Charleston, to cruise in the service of France, he demanded these men of the civil magistrate who had arrested them, in the following very extraordinary language.

"I have this moment been informed that two officers in the service of the Republick of France, citizens Gideon Henfield and John Singletary, have been arrested on board the privateer of the French Republick, the Citizen Genet, and conducted to prison. The crime laid to their charge, the crime which my mind cannot conceive, and which my pen almost refuses to state, is the serving of France, and defending with her children the common glorious cause of liberty.

"Being ignorant of any positive law or treaty which deprives Americans of this privilege, and authorizes officers of police arbitrarily to take mariners in the service of France from on board their vessels, I call upon your intervention, sir, and that of the President of the United States, in order to obtain the immediate releasement of the above mentioned officers, who have

acquired by the sentiments animating them, and by the act of their engagement, anteriour to every act to the contrary, the right of French citizens, if they have lost that of American citizens."

The President considered this insolent demand as an attack upon the honour and independence of the United States; but without noticing the intemperate language of the French Minister, he steadily pursued the publick interest.

The leading individuals of that portion of the American people who had been opposed to the adoption of the National constitution, and were opposed to the measures of the Administration under it, in the partialities and prejudices manifested throughout the Union towards France and Great Britain, saw the probable means to weaken the confidence, and alienate the affection which the citizens of the United States manifested towards the President; and in this way to bring about a revolution in the national government. In pursuance of this plan, the resentments and the enthusiastick sympathies of the people were fostered; and democratick societies, in imitation of the Jacobin Club in Paris, were formed. The victories of France were celebrated by feasts, bonfires, and other publick rejoicings.

The measures adopted by the Executive to preserve the peace of the nation, were vilified in the newspapers devoted to the opposition; the proclamation of neutrality was declared to be an exercise of power, with which the Constitution did not invest the President; and the measures of the Administration generally were pronounced to be unfriendly to France, and to carry evidence of their intention to break with that Republick and to join in the royal crusade against liberty. Mr. Genet was justified in the construction of the existing treaties between the two nations, and he was urged to persist in his opposition to the measures of the American government.

The President deeply felt the insult offered to the nation, by the attempt of the French Minister to continue the exercise of an usurped authority within the United States; but he knew the importance of yielding to the feelings of his countrymen, as far as consisted with the dignity of his station, and with the independence, the peace, and welfare of his country. He contented himself with confuting in a cool and dispassionate manner the extravagant positions of Mr. Genet, and inflexibly adhered to his system.

Private business called him to Mount Vernon, and he was absent from the seat of government from the 24th of June to the 11th of July. During his absence the Heads of Departments superintended the execution of the measures that had been agreed upon in the Cabinet. At this time an event took place which fully exhibits the rashness of the French Minister, and shows the difficulty to which he subjected the administration.

A French privateer brought an English merchantman, the Little Sarah, into Philadelphia. This vessel Genet equipped as a privateer. Having mounted fourteen iron cannon, and six swivels, and taken on board one hundred and twenty men, a number of whom were Americans, she was about to sail under the name of La Petite Democrat. In this situation the Secretary of the Treasury reported her case to the Secretaries of State and of War. Governour Mifflin was in consequence requested to make examination, and on the 14th of July he reported that she was to sail next day. By desire of the Heads of Departments the Governour sent Mr. Dallas, Secretary of State for Pennsylvania, to request Mr. Genet to relieve them from the disagreeable necessity of preventing by force the sailing of a privateer equipped in their ports. This request excited in that Minister the most violent passion, which he vented in very intemperate and abusive language, declared that La Petite Democrat would repel force by force, and threatened to appeal from the Executive to

the people. Mr. Jefferson in person waited upon him to renew the request, that he would order the privateer not to sail until the pleasure of the President could be known; Mr. Jefferson reported, that after an ebullition of passion, and some equivocation, he understood Mr. Genet to promise, that the privateer should fall down below Chester, and there wait the will of the President. Colonel Hamilton and General Knox were for taking measures to prevent her sailing, but Mr. Jefferson, professing his confidence in the promise of Mr. Genet, opposed them, and they were not put in execution.

These proceedings were immediately reported to the President on his return to the seat of government. Mr. Jefferson had then retired, indisposed, to his country house, and the President wrote him as follows:

"What is to be done in the case of the Little Sarah, now at Chester? Is the Minister of the French Republick to set the acts of this government at defiance with impunity? And threaten the Executive with an appeal to the people? What must the world think of such conduct? And of the United States in submitting to it?

"These are serious questions. Circumstances press for decision; and as you have had time to consider them, upon me they come unexpectedly, I wish to know your opinion upon them even before to-morrow, for the vessel may then be gone."

In answer to this letter, the Secretary of State informed the President, that Mr. Genet had assured him that the vessel should not sail before the decision of the Executive respecting it should be known; and coercive measures were therefore suspended. In Council, next day, it was determined to detain the armed vessels of belligerents in port. This determination was made known to Genet, but in contempt of it the privateer sailed. The opposition applauded even this act of resistance in the French Minister. The un-

wearied endeavour of the Administration, by a faithful observance of treaties, and an impartial treatment towards belligerent powers, to secure the blessings of peace, and the rights of neutrality to the United States, was construed into a violation of those treaties, and into an insidious scheme to force the country into a war against France.

The French Minister persisted in his exposition of the treaty, and in repeated letters, written in abusive and insulting language, to the Secretary of State, demanded reparation of injuries his country had sustained.

The President was at length convinced of the necessity of taking effectual measures with Genet, and on the 25th of July he wrote the following letter to Mr. Jefferson.

"As the official conduct of Mr. Genet, relatively to the affairs of this government, will have to undergo a very serious consideration, so soon as the special court at which the Attorney General is now engaged, will allow him to attend with convenience, in order to decide upon measures proper to be taken thereupon, it is my desire that all the letters to and from that Minister may be ready to be laid before me, the Heads of Departments, and the Attorney General, whom I shall advise with on the occasion, together with the minutes of such oral communications as you may have had with him on the subject of these letters, &c. And as the memorials from the British Minister, and answers thereto, are materially connected therewith, it will be proper, I conceive, to have these ready also."

The Executive proceeded with the unanimous consent of the Cabinet, to establish a system by which to regulate the intercourse with nations at war. The rules adopted give evidence of the unalterable purpose of the President, sacredly to observe all national engagements, and honestly to perform every duty due to belligerent powers; and they manifest a determina

tion to insist on the uninterrupted exercise of the rights of neutrality for his own country. It was also agreed that prizes brought into American ports, by privateers equipped in them, should be restored, or compensation be made for them, and that armed vessels of this description should not be permitted to remain in American harbours.

These regulations were communicated to the Ministers of the belligerent nations, and in the same letter, the privileges stipulated by treaty for France were stated, and a solicitude was expressed for their security.

After deliberate attention to the conduct and correspondence of the French Minister, it was agreed that a letter should be written to Mr. Morris, American Minister at Paris, stating the reasons on which the measures of the Administration with belligerent nations were founded, giving information of the disagreement of Mr. Genet with the government, and requesting his recall. The communication to the French government on this subject concluded in the following manner. "After independence and self government, there was nothing America more sincerely wished than perpetual friendship with them."

The threat of Mr. Genet to appeal from the President to the people being reported on most respectable authority, made a deep impression on the publick mind. That portion of the American people, which were originally in favour of adopting the National Constitution of government generally approved the measures of the Administration; and although they thought favourably of the revolution of France, and wished well to our cause, yet they were indignant at the insult offered by her minister to the Chief Magistrate of the United States. The appeal having been made to them, they felt themselves constrained by every feeling of patriotism to support their own government in measures they deemed to be fair, just, and impartial In

every part of the United States, the people assembled in their towns and districts, to express their opinions on publick measures. The contest was warm, but the great majority of voices was found on the side of the Administration, its measures were approved; and it fully appeared that the affection and confidence of the American people in the President, existed in their force and efficacy. Yet at the moment that publick indignation was expressed at the attempt to exercise a foreign influence over the American councils, it was evident that those who expressed it, felt a strong partiality in favour of France in her contention with England.

In the spirit of conciliation, General WASHINGTON determined not to take violent measures with Genet, until the result of the complaint lodged against him with his own government, should be known, and with magnanimity he bore his abuses. But at length, patience and forbearance were exhausted.

In 1794 the French Minister deliberately planned two expeditions against Spain, to be carried on from the United States, and granted commissions to American citizens to be officers in them, who privately enlisted men for the purpose. The conquest of the Floridas was the object of one of these expeditions, and Georgia was the place of rendezvous for the troops destined to this service. The other was designed for the invasion of Louisiana, and was to be prosecuted from Kentucky down the Ohio and Mississippi. The arrangements were all made; but before the plan was ripe for execution, the government interposed, and some of the principal agents were arrested. No government, the President conceived, which had any pretentions to independence, could submit to insults of this nature.

Having consulted with the Vice President, the Heads of Departments, and other leading characters in the government, he determined to suspend the ministerial

functions, and to confine the person of Genet. Messages to the two houses of the Legislature on this subject were prepared, and orders were given to the Marshal to take the French Minister into custody. But the evening preceding the day on which these orders were to have been carried into execution, official letters from Mr. Morris informed the President, that Mr. Genet was recalled, which prevented the necessity of carrying the measure to extremity. One instance among many, of the independence, the firmness, and the good fortune of President WASHINGTON.

Mr. Fauchet, the successor of Mr. Genet, brought assurances that his government disapproved of the conduct of his predecessor, and made warm declarations of his own disposition to consult the peace and honour of the government of the United States, and his practices for a time corresponded with his language.

About this period, the Executive of the French government made known to the President their wishes that Mr. Morris might be recalled. He immediately complied with their request, and nominated Colonel Monroe of Virginia as his successor, an appointment peculiarly pleasing to the friends of France.

The task of the Executive was rendered still more delicate, arduous, and difficult, by the conduct of Great Britain.

The Court of London had declined a treaty with Congress under the old Confederation. At the commencement of the Federal Government, the Administration was disposed to negotiate with Great Britain without committing the honour of the nation. Mr. Gouverneur Morris, who was in England on private business, was directed to open an informal conference with members of the British Cabinet on the subject of American affairs. With much address he executed this commission but to little purpose. He informed the President, that the Duke of Leeds and Mr. Pitt

manifested a disposition to live on terms of amity and friendship with the United States; but discovered no inclination to enter into a commercial treaty with them, that they complained of the neglect of the American government to execute the stipulations of the treaty of peace, for which neglect they justified their retention of the Western Posts.

In this situation the French revolution found Great Britain and the United States. At the commencement of the war between France and England, various circumstances indicated the probability that America would be brought into the contention against Britain.

The warm and animated expressions of fraternity made by the American people towards France; the festivals in celebration of French victories, and the manifest partiality which many discovered for her in the management of the war, probably led the British Cabinet to think that the United States were disposed to become parties in the war, and induced them to adopt measures to meet this hostile spirit. On the other hand, the unfriendly indications of the English Court, and the impressments of American seamen in the British ports, in addition to the common vexation of neutrals on the high seas, and the attempt to starve France by carrying American provision vessels into English ports, was so much fuel to feed the passions of the Americans already in a blaze.

In this state of national affairs, the President met Congress on the 4th of December, 1793. In the speech delivered on this interesting occasion, he thus noticed his re-election to the Presidency.

"Since the commencement of the term for which I have been again called into office, no fit occasion has arisen for expressing to my fellow citizens at large the deep and respectful sense which I feel of the renewed testimony of publick approbation. While on the one hand, it awakened my gratitude, for all those instances of affectionate partiality with which I have been

honoured by my country; on the other, it could not prevent an earnest wish for that retirement, from which no private consideration should ever have torn me. But influenced by the belief that my conduct would be estimated according to its real motives, and that the people, and the authorities derived from them, would support exertions, having nothing personal for their object, I have obeyed the suffrage which commanded me to resume the executive power; and I humbly implore that Being on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavours for the general happiness."

He then made the following communications respecting the measures of the Administration.

"As soon as the war in Europe had embraced those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace drawn in question by suspicions too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed therefore to be my duty to admonish our citizens of the consequence of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties; and to obtain by a declaration of the existing state of things an easier admission of our rights to the immunities belonging to our situation. Under these impressions the Proclamation was issued.

"In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules, which should conform to the treaties, and assert the privileges of the United States. These were reduced into a system, which shall be communicated to you."

After noticing those legislative provisions which his experience dictated as necessary, he proceeded:

"I cannot recommend to your notice, measures for the fulfilment of *our* duties to the rest of the world, without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing yourselves in a situation of complete defence, and

of exacting from *them*, the fulfilment of their duties towards us. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will for ever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms, with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our prosperity, it must be known that we are, at all times, ready for war."

After advising the greatest appropriations for the redemption of the publick debt, which the resources of the country would permit, he in the following manner concluded the address.

"The several subjects to which I have now referred open a wide range to your deliberations, and involve some of the choicest interests of our common country. Permit me to bring to your remembrance the magnitude of your task. Without an unprejudiced coolness, the welfare of the government may be hazarded; without harmony, as far as consists with freedom of sentiment, its dignity may be lost. But as the legislative proceedings of the United States will never, I trust, be reproached for the want of temper, or of candour, so shall not the publick happiness languish from the want of my strenuous and warmest co-operations."

The party in the United States, opposed to the general system on which the Federal Government had been administered, by associating the cause of France with their own, had increased their members in the present Congress; but they were not prepared to attack either the discernment or the patriotism of the President. The House of Representatives, in their answer, thus noticed the unanimous suffrage, by which General WASHINGTON had, a second time, been elected to the Presidency.

"It was with equal sincerity and promptitude they embraced the occasion for expressing to him their congratulations on so distinguished a testimony of publick approbation, and their entire confidence in the purity and patriotism of the motives which had produced this obedience to the voice of his country. It is to virtues that have commanded long and universal reverence, and services from which have flowed great and lasting benefits, that the tribute of praise may be paid without the reproach of flattery; and it is from the same sources that the fairest anticipations may be derived in favour of publick happiness." The proclamation of neutrality was in a cautious manner approved, and a disposition was expressed to support the Executive.

The answer of the Senate breathed unreserved affection and confidence. Referring to the second election of the President, they observed, "In the unanimity which a second time marks this important national act, we trace with particular satisfaction, besides the distinguished tribute paid to the virtues and abilities, which it recognises, another proof of that just discernment, and constancy of sentiments and views, which have hitherto characterized the citizens of the United States." They declared the Proclamation to be "a measure well timed and wise, manifesting a watchful solicitude for the welfare of the nation, and calculated to promote it."

At the close of this year, Mr. Jefferson resigned his Secretaryship, and was succeeded by Mr. E. Randolph; and Mr. William Bradford was appointed Attorney General.

After a very animated debate, January, 1794, a bill passed Congress by a very small majority, to build six frigates, and it received the cordial assent of the Executive. This was the commencement of the American navy.

In November 1793 the British government had given instructions to her ships to detain all vessels laden with

goods, the produce of any colony belonging to France, or carrying provisions, or other supplies to those colonies, and bring them into English ports for adjudication.

These instructions were thought, by reflecting men in America, to be proof of a hostile spirit in the British Cabinet towards the United States, and Congress deemed it expedient to be prepared to meet the probable event of war. They accordingly laid an embargo for the term of thirty days, and with great unanimity adopted provisional measures of self defence.

While these measures were in train, the President on the 4th of April, 1794, transmitted to Congress a letter from Mr. Pinckney, who had been appointed Minister at the Court of London, which contained information, that the orders of November were revoked, and instructions given to cruizers to bring in for adjudications only those neutral vessels which were laden with the produce of French Islands on a direct voyage from those islands to Europe; and gave the substance of a conversation between Lord Grenville and Mr. Pinckney in which his Lordship more satisfactorily explained the instructions of November; and manifested a disposition to cultivate peace and amity with the United States.

This communication made a deep impression on the Federal members of Congress. They thought that a door was opened for negotiation, and that war might probably be avoided.

The opposition members and the partisans of France, alarmed by these symptoms of moderation, redoubled their attack upon England, and upon all, who were disposed to cultivate friendship with her. Newspapers were filled with invectives of this nature, and every epithet of vileness and calumny was made use of to inflame the publick mind, and increase the hostility of the nation against Great Britain. The majority of Congress discovered a disposition to proceed in their

military preparations, in which the sentiment of the community seemed to support them, and general appearances still indicated approaching hostilities.

The President foresaw the evils that must be introduced by a war with Great Britain, in the distempered state of the publick mind. He knew that she commanded the Ocean, that she presented the best markets for the exports of the United States, and furnished, on the easiest terms, those manufactures which were necessary to his countrymen. He perceived that the devotion of the people to France would throw the United States into her arms, and that his country must become a mere satellite of her will. He was not without some apprehension, that the bloody and ferocious spirit that had disgraced the French revolution, might be introduced into the peaceable society of America.

Under these solemn impressions, he determined to use his endeavours to arrest the dreaded evil, and on the 16th of April he nominated in the Senate an Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Great Britain, and for the following reasons.

"The communications which I have made to you during your present session, from the despatches of our Minister in London, contain a serious aspect of our affairs with Great Britain. But as peace ought to be pursued with unremitted zeal, before the last resource, which has so often been the scourge of nations, and cannot fail to check the advanced prosperity of the United States, is contemplated, I have thought proper to nominate John Jay, as Envoy Extraordinary of the United States to his Britannick Majesty.

"My confidence in our Minister Plenipotentiary in London continues undiminished. But a mission like this, while it corresponds with the solemnity of the occasion, will announce to the world a solicitude for the friendly adjustment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hostility. Going immediately from the

United States, such an Envoy will carry with him a full knowledge of the existing temper and sensibility of our country; and will thus be taught to vindicate our rights with firmness, and to cultivate peace with sincerity."

To a considerable part of Congress, and to a large portion of the American people, this decisive act was unexpected and displeasing; and it was adopted in full view of the obloquy and abuse of which it would be the occasion.

A motion made to stay the proceedings against Great Britain, on account of the pending negotiation was overruled in the House of Representatives; and a bill prohibiting commercial intercourse with her carried by a considerable majority; which was lost in the Senate by the casting vote of the Vice President.

The authority of the Executive to issue the proclamation of neutrality had by many been doubted; his power to call out the militia to prevent the sailing of privateers, which had violated his rules, denied; and the American citizens, who had been prosecuted for engaging in expeditions against the nations at war, had been acquitted by a jury of trials. The President therefore, although entertaining himself no doubt about his constitutional authority, was desirous to obtain the sanction of Congress for the system he had adopted to preserve the peace of the country.

At the commencement of the session, he intimated to the National Legislature the propriety of the measure, and in pursuance of his advice, the Senate introduced a bill, prohibiting within the United States the exercise, by Foreign Ministers, of those acts of sovereignty which Genet claimed, and subjecting to fine and imprisonment those who should be guilty of any of the acts towards the belligerent nations, which the Executive had forbidden. This bill, necessary as it was to the honour and peace of the nation, was opposed by the whole force of the Antifederalists, and finally

passed the Senate by the casting vote of the Vice President.

On the 9th of June, 1794, the session of Congress, which had been active and stormy, closed.

In the course of this year, the President was called to an important, but painful duty in administering the domestick concerns of the government.

Under the last Presidency an act had passed, laying a duty on spirits distilled within the United States.

To the inhabitants in the Western Counties of Pennsylvania this was highly offensive. The whole district had been from the beginning, hostile to the Federal Constitution. They had with acrimony opposed its adoption, and were in opposition to all the measures of the Administration. Emboldened by the hoarse and loud clamours of their party, they absolutely refused compliance with the law. The President with anxiety saw this combination, but waited in the expectation that the quiet submission to the act in other parts of the Union, would induce the people of this district to yield obedience. In the mean time he recommended to Congress to modify the act in such a manner as to remove every reasonable objection. Accordingly in May, 1792, the National Legislature took up the subject, and made such alterations in the act, as experience dictated would be salutary. This revision did not conciliate the insurgents. The officers, who attempted to collect the duty, were violently opposed. In County and District Conventions, a systematick opposition was planned; and banishment from the circle of good neighbourhood, and from all the benefits and pleasures of social intercourse, was denounced against all who should aid the publick officers; and the officers themselves were threatened with every personal outrage, should they persist in the endeavour to execute the duties of their office.

Knowing the importance of breaking this daring combination, the President issued a Proclamation, ad-

monishing all persons to desist from proceedings designed to obstruct the execution of the laws; requiring the interposition of magistrates in support of government, and directing the prosecution of offenders.

The Proclamation not producing the desired effect, he endeavoured to prevent the necessity of having recourse to a military force, by making it the interest of the distillers to pay the duty.

Prosecutions were instituted against delinquents, where they could be sustained, the spirits distilled in the counties opposing the law were ordered to be seized on their way to market, by the officers of the revenue, and the contracters for the army were directed to purchase only the spirits, on which the duties had been paid. But whatever were the wishes of the distillers, the fear of an infuriated populace prevented a compliance with these orders; and the insurgents took encouragement from the lenity of the Executive, in the expectation of ultimate success. By violent threats they deterred the Marshal from the service of his precepts, committed numerous outrages upon the friends of government, and organized themselves into military bands to resist any force that might be sent to subject them to the laws.

The President had for three years patiently waited the effect of conciliatory measures, but these had only rendered the opposition more desperate. He therefore had only to choose between the alternative of permitting the prostration of the government, or to call out its force in support of the laws.

The subject in all its momentous consequences was laid before the Cabinet, and General Mifflin, the Governour of Pennsylvania, was on this occasion called into the Council. Their unanimous desire was to avoid, if possible, the coertion of the military, and they therefore advised, that Commissioners should be sent to the insurgents to warn them of their danger, and to offer a pardon of past offences, on condition of

future obedience to the laws. It was also advised that a proclamation should be issued in conformity to the act of Congress, commanding the insurgents to disperse by a given day. But in respect to ultimate operations, there was not an unanimity of opinion. The Governour of Pennsylvania thought that the militia of that state would be insufficient to suppress the insurrection, and appeared apprehensive of danger from the attempt to call out the power of government. Mr. Randolph, Secretary of State, expressed his fears on account of the numbers and strength of the insurgents. He doubted whether the militia would obey the orders of the Executive, and march to suppress by force of arms this combination; if they should, he doubted the success of the expedition, and foreboded civil war in all its horrours as the consequence of a failure.

The Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and the Attorney General, were of opinion, that the President was bound by the most sacred obligations, to use the means placed at his disposal, faithfully to execute the law. They therefore advised him to try the power of the government to coerce submission; and from policy and humanity to march a force into the insurgent counties, too strong to be resisted.

The President did not hesitate to do his duty. Without exerting the means of prevention in his power, he could not see the laws prostrated, and the authority of the United States defied.

On the 7th of August, he issued the Proclamation which the law made a prerequisite to the employment of force. In it he gave a recapitulation of the measures of Government, and of the opposition of the insurgents, and thus proceeded, "Whereas it was in his judgment necessary, under the circumstances of the case, to take measures for calling forth the militia in order to suppress the combinations aforesaid, and to cause the laws to be duly executed, and he had accord-

ingly determined so to do; feeling the deepest regret for the occasion, but withal the most solemn conviction that the essential interests of the Union demanded it; that the very existence of government, and the fundamental principles of social order were involved in the issue; and that the patriotism and firmness of all good citizens were seriously called upon to aid in the suppression of so fatal a spirit." The Proclamation closed by ordering all insurgents, and all other persons whom it might concern, on or before the first day of the ensuing September, to disperse and retire to their respective homes. Orders were on the same day issued to the Governours of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, for their respective quotas of twelve thousand men, which at a subsequent period was increased to fifteen thousand, who were to be held in readiness to march at a minute's warning.

Reluctant to draw the sword upon his fellow citizens, the President at this awful crisis determined to make one more attempt to reclaim by mild entreaty his deluded countrymen. The Attorney General, Judge Yates, and Mr. Ross, were commissioned to bear to the insurgents a general amnesty for all past crimes, on condition of future obedience; but the clemency of the government was again spurned, and its power disregarded.

The insurgents, forming an opinion from the language of democratick societies, and from the publications in antifederal newspapers, seem to have entertained the supposition that their disaffection was generally felt by the citizens of the United States, and that the attempt to suppress them would issue in a revolution of the government.

That the Executive of Pennsylvania might act in unison with the National Administration, Governour Mifflin had also issued a Proclamation, and appointed commissioners to join those of the nation.

The faction opposed to government insidiously attempted to obstruct the execution of the orders of the President, but without effect; the community expressed unequivocally the determination to support the government, and to execute the laws. The personal influence of Governour Mifflin surmounted the obstructions which arose from the insufficiency of the militia laws of Pennsylvania; the officers and men of the respective States obeyed the summons with an alacrity that exceeded the expectation of the most sanguine, and the required number of troops was seasonably in readiness to obey the orders of the Commander in Chief.

The command of the expedition was given to Governour Lee of Virginia, and the Governours of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey commanded the militia of their respective states under him. This force moved into the insurgent counties and bore down all opposition. Thus by the vigour and prudence of the Executive, this formidable and alarming insurrection was, without the sacrifice of a life, subdued.

The President attributed this insurrection in a great degree to the influence of the democratick societies. This opinion he expressed in his private letters, and in his publick communications to the Legislature. In a letter to Mr. Jay, he observed,

"That the self-created societies, who have spread themselves over this country, have been labouring incessantly to sow the seeds of distrust, jealousy, and of course discontent, hoping thereby to effect some revolution in the government, is not unknown to you. That they have been the fomenters of the western disturbances, admits of no doubt in the mind of any one who will examine their conduct. But, fortunately they have precipitated a crisis for which they were not prepared; and thereby have unfolded views which will, I trust, effect their annihilation sooner, than it might have happened."

General WASHINGTON had the firmness and independence to denounce these societies to the National Legislature, and to lend his personal influence to counteract their designs, thereby bringing upon him self their resentment.

In his official address to Congress, on the 19th of November, he, as a channel of publick information, narrated the rise, progress, and issue of the insurrection, passed a merited encomium on the patriotism of those who had with alacrity exerted themselves to suppress it, and proceeded to observe:

"To every description of citizens, let praise be given. But let them persevere in their affectionate vigilance over that precious depository of American happiness, the Constitution of the United States. And when in the calm moments of reflection, they shall have retraced the origin and progress of the insurrection, let them determine whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who, careless of consequences and disregarding the unerring truth, that those who rouse, cannot always appease a civil convulsion, have disseminated, from an ignorance or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations of the whole government." He, on this occasion, renewedly recommended to the Legislature the organization of the militia, and made such other communications as the state of the country rendered expedient.

In their answer to this address, the Senate said, "Our anxiety arising from the licentious and open resistance to the laws in the Western Counties of Pennsylvania, has been increased by the proceedings of certain self-created societies relative to the laws and Administrations of the government; proceedings, in our apprehensions, founded in political errour, calculated, if not intended, to disorganize our government, and which, by inspiring delusive hopes of support,

have been instrumental in misleading our fellow citizens in the scene of insurrection."

They expressed an unqualified approbation of the measures adopted by the Executive to suppress the insurrection, and concluded in the following manner. "At a period so momentous in the affairs of nations, the temperate, just, and firm policy that you have pursued in respect to foreign powers, has been eminently calculated to promote the great and essential interest of our country, and has created the fairest title to the publick gratitude and thanks."

The House of Representatives was not thus cordial and approbatory in their answer to the Speech of the President.

After much debate, they omitted to notice the conduct of the Executive with foreign powers, and they made no reply to his observations on self-created societies. In other points, the answer was respectful.

On the last of January 1795, Mr. Hamilton resigned his place as Secretary of the Treasury, and was succeeded by Mr. Oliver Wolcott. And soon after General Knox resigned the Secretaryship of War, and was succeeded by Colonel T. Pickering.

While these events were taking place in America, Judge Jay was executing a commission in England highly important to his country.

From the moment that he was admitted to a conference with the British Cabinet, he with the ardour of a patriot, and the ability of a statesman, devoted himself to the business of his mission. While decorous in his behaviour towards the British crown, he maintained the respectability of his own character, and supported the honour of the United States. Persuaded that war would be the consequence of a failure of his negotiation, he patiently attended to the investigation of the subject in controversy, and finally agreed with Lord Greenville upon a treaty between the two countries.

In a letter to the President, he declared this to be the best it was possible to obtain, and added, "I ought not to conceal from you, that the confidence reposed in your personal character was visible and useful throughout the negotiation."

On the 8th of June, the President submitted the treaty, with the documents which attended it, to the deliberation of the Senate, that they might "in their wisdom decide whether they would advise and consent that it should be ratified."

After deliberate investigation, the Senate, by exactly two thirds of their numbers, the constitutional majority advised to its ratification, with some qualification of the 12th Article.

Great exertion had been made by the party that opposed the mission of Mr. Jay, to keep alive the spirit of hostility to Great Britain. The secrecy observed in the negotiation was pointedly reprobated as a violation of the first principles of a Republican Government, and every circumstance that transpired respecting it, was used as a means to excite odium against the negotiation, and prejudice against the treaty. While the train was laying to enkindle a publick flame, word was received through a credible channel that the British Court had renewed the orders to their cruisers to detain provision vessels bound to French ports. Although the President had previously determined to ratify the treaty, yet on this information, he ordered a strong remonstrance to be drawn against those orders, and suggested to his Cabinet the propriety of suspending the exchange of the ratified treaty, upon their revocation.

In this stage of the business, he was called to Mount Vernon.

During his absence, and while the publick mind was in a state of irritation, a Senator in Congress from Virginia, violating the decorum and the rules of the Senate, sent an incorrect copy of the treaty to the

Editor of a democratick paper, and through the press it was immediately communicated to the publick. If the attempts to negotiate were represented as inconsistent with the honour of the United States, and all the circumstances attending it criminated as a dereliction of the interests of a sister Republick; it cannot be supposed, that the instrument itself, which was the result of mutual concessions, and the adjustment of opposing national interests, should quiet the publick mind, subjected to the despotism of passion and prejudice. Noisy and violent declamation against the treaty abounded in every part of the United States, and few were found, who, unbiassed by national interest, coolly and impartially decided upon its merits.

Publick meetings were holden in all the large towns, and intemperate addresses denouncing the treaty voted, which were published in the Newspapers before they were presented to the President.

Pamphlets were also put into circulation, written with ingenuity and calculated to increase the prejudices against this national transaction, on the pretence that it was a sacrifice of the interests of France in favour of Great Britain.

These violent movements deeply affected the President, but they did not change his determination. His letters, and the general tenour of his conduct at this period, discover the firmness and independence with which he was prepared to resist every attempt unsuitably to bias the Executive. His greatest apprehensions on this occasion were, that France would avail herself of these popular commotions, either to force the government of the United States into her measures, or to embarrass the execution of the treaty, and to render its stipulations in favour of American commerce ineffectual. In a letter of the 29th of July written to the Secretary of State, after mentioning that the state of the country required the utmost circumspection, he added:

"I have never since I have been in the administration

of the government, seen a crisis which, in my opinion, has been so pregnant with interesting events, nor one from which more is to be apprehended, whether viewed on the one side or the other. From New-York there is, and I am told will further be, a counter current; but how formidable it may appear, I know not. If the same does not take place at Boston and other towns, it will afford but too strong evidence that the opposition is in a manner universal, and would make the ratification a very serious business indeed. But as it respects the French, even counter resolutions would, for the reasons I have already mentioned, do little more than weaken, in a small degree, the effect the other side would have." In a letter to the Secretary, of the 31st of July, having mentioned his determination to return to Philadelphia, and stated the firmness and wisdom necessary to meet the crisis, he proceeded, "There is too much reason to believe, from the pains that have been taken before, at, and since the advice of the Senate respecting the treaty, that the prejudices against it are more extensive than is generally imagined. How should it be otherwise, when no stone has been left unturned that could impress on the minds of the people the most errant misrepresentation of facts; that their rights have not only been neglected, but absolutely sold; that there are no reciprocal advantages in the treaty; that the benefits are all on the side of Great Britain; and what seems to have had more weight with them than all the rest, and has been most pressed; that the treaty is made with the design to oppress the French Republick, in open violation of our treaty with that nation, and contrary too to every principle of gratitude and sound policy. In time, when passion shall have yielded to sober reason, the current may possibly turn; but, in the mean while, this government in relation to France and England may be compared to a ship between Scylla and Charybdis. If the treaty is ratified, the partisans of the

French, or rather of war and confusion, will excite them to hostile measures, or at least to unfriendly sentiments; if it is not, there is no foreseeing all the consequences that may follow as it respects Great Britain.

"It is not to be inferred from hence, that I am, or shall be disposed to quit the ground I have taken, unless circumstances more imperious than have yet come to my knowledge, should compel it; for there is but one straight course, and that is to seek truth, and to pursue it steadily. But these things are mentioned to show that a close investigation of the subject is more than ever necessary. Every step should be explored before it is taken, and every word weighed before it is uttered or delivered in writing." In a subsequent letter, in which he mentioned the increasing hostility to the treaty, he added, "All these things do not shake my determination with respect to the proposed ratification; nor will they, unless something more imperious and unknown to me should, in the opinion of yourself and the gentleman with you, make it adviseable for me to pause."

On the 11th of August, the President arrived at Philadelphia, and on the next day he brought before the Cabinet the question respecting the immediate ratification of the treaty. The Secretary of State advised to the postponement of this measure, until the orders of the British should be revoked. The other members of the Cabinet voted for an immediate ratification with a strong memorial against those orders. With this advice the President closed. The orders were recalled, and the ratifications of the treaty exchanged.

The President was probably led to this immediate ratification of the treaty by the popular violence, which was raised against it in every part of the United States. He conceived that it was necessary, either at once to arrest its progress, or ultimately to yield to its force. The event proved the soundness of his judgment and

the influence of his character. Violent opposition ceased. Reflection and experience convinced discerning men, that the treaty was a wise and salutary measure.

On the 19th of August 1795, Mr. Randolph resigned his office as Secretary of State. He had been strongly suspected of breach of trust, and of having committed the honour and interest of his country in his communications with the French Minister. To enable him, as he affirmed, to vindicate himself, he requested the sight of a confidential letter, which the President had written to him, and which he had left in the office. His avowed purpose was to publish this, with other documents, to show that he had been disgraced on account of his attachment to France and liberty. "I have directed," replied the President, "that you should have the inspection of my letter of the 22d of July, agreeably to your request; and you are at full liberty to publish without reserve any or every private and confidential letter I ever wrote you; nay more, every word I ever uttered to you or in your presence, from whence you can derive any advantage in your vindication." Happy the ruler, who in the consciousness of the purity of his intentions can, in times of political agitation, thus address a suspected member of his Council, who had been admitted to his unlimited confidence.

Colonel Pickering was removed to the department of State, and Mr. M'Henry appointed Secretary of War. By the death of Mr. Bradford, the office of Attorney General became vacant, which was soon filled by Mr. Lee of Virginia.

In the Autumn of 1795 a treaty was negotiated through the agency of Colonel Humphreys with the the Regency of Algiers, by which a number of American citizens, who had been enslaved, were liberated.

On opening the first session of the fourth Congress, Dec. 1795, the President congratulated the two Houses

on the prosperity of the nation. "I trust,' said he, "I do not deceive myself while I indulge the persuasion that I have never met you at any period, when, more than at the present, the situation of our publick affairs has afforded just cause for mutual congratulation; and for inviting you to join with me in profound gratitude to the author of all good for the numerous and extraordinary blessings we enjoy." Then making a brief statement of the situation of the United States in their foreign relations, he thus proceeded.

"This interesting summary of our affairs, with regard to the powers between whom and the United States, controversies have subsisted; and with regard also to our Indian neighbours with whom we have been in a state of enmity or misunderstanding, opens a wide field for consoling and gratifying reflections. If by prudence and moderation on every side, the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord which have heretofore menaced our tranquillity, on terms compatible with our national faith and honour, shall be the happy result, how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid for accelerating, maturing, and establishing the prosperity of our country."

Recommending a number of national objects, to the attention of the Legislature, the speech was concluded in the following manner.

"Temperate discussion of the important subjects that may arise in the course of the session, and mutual forbearance where there is a difference in opinion, are too obvious and necessary for the peace, happiness, and welfare of our country, to need any recommendation of mine."

The answer of the Senate was in their usual cordial and respectful manner.

A majority of the House of Representatives of this Congress was of the party opposed to the general administration of the government. To this party the British treaty was offensive; and their feelings on this

subject had an influence on their reply to the President's speech.

The Committee reported an answer, which contained this clause; "that the confidence of his fellow citizens in the Chief Magistrate remained undiminished." It was moved to strike out this clause because it contained an untruth. In the animated debate that ensued, the friends of the President supported the clause, and maintained with zeal, that the confidence of the American citizens in him had suffered no diminution; the advocates of the motion with pertinacity averred that by a recent transaction the confidence of the people in the President was diminished; and several of the speakers declared, that their own confidence in him was lessened.

To prevent a vote of the House to expunge the clause, it was moved and carried to recommit the answer. In the second report, this clause was in such a manner modified as to pass without objection.

Mr. Monroe reached Paris soon after the fall of Robespierre, his reception as the American Minister was publick, and on the occasion, he gave the Convention the most positive assurances of the fervent attachment of the American people to the interest of France.

The Committee of Safety of France had previously written to the American Congress, and the Executive of the Federal Government being the constituted organ of foreign intercourse, the Senate and House of Representatives had, by their resolves, transmitted this letter to the President with a request, that he would in a respectful answer express their friendly disposition towards the French Republick. Accordingly the Secretary of State addressed two letters to the Committee of Safety, in the name of each branch of the Legislature. These Mr. Monroe conveyed, and delivered with his own credentials to the President of the Convention.

The communications of the American Minister were

received with expressions of high gratification, and the Convention decreed, that the flags of France and America should be united, and suspended in their hall, as an emblem of the eternal union and friendship of the two Republicks.

Colonel Monroe, to reciprocate this act of fraternity, requested the Convention to accept from him the American flag, as evidence of his own sensibility, and as a token of the satisfaction with which his country would improve every opportunity to promote the union of the two nations.

Mr. Adet, the successor of Mr. Fauchet, arrived at Philadelphia in the summer of 1795, and brought with him the flag of France as a compliment from the Convention to Congress, and a letter from the Committee of Safety to this body. He made no mention to the President of this present until December, intending to present it directly to Congress, and to avail himself of the opportunity to address that body. The President and the Heads of Departments, perceiving his intention to make a bridge of the Executive to open a direct communication with the popular branch of Congress, and apprehending evil from it, with address defeated the intriguing scheme. They directed, that the flag and the letter should be placed in the hands of the President, and by him presented to Congress. The 1st of January 1796, was appointed as the time on which the President would receive them. Mr. Adet on this occasion addressed him in the impassioned language of his countrymen. He represented France as exerting herself in defence of the liberty of mankind.

"Assimilated to, or rather identified with free people by the form of her government, she saw in them," he observed, "only friends and brothers. Long accustomed to regard the American people as her most faithful allies, she sought to draw closer the ties already formed in the fields of America, under the auspices of victory, over the ruins of tyranny."

To answer this speech was a delicate task. Animated expressions of attachment and friendship for France were expected; and it was improper for the Executive of a neutral nation to show partiality or prejudice towards belligerent powers.

The following was the reply of the President.

"Born, sir, in a land of liberty; having early learned its value; having engaged in a perilous conflict to defend it; having, in a word, devoted the best years of my life to secure its permanent establishment in my own country; my anxious recollections, my sympathetick feelings, and my best wishes are irresistibly attracted, whensoever, in any country, I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom. But above all, the events of the French revolution have produced the deepest solicitude, as well as the highest admiration. To call your nation brave, were to pronounce but common praise. Wonderful people! Ages to come will read with astonishment the history of your brilliant exploits. I rejoice that the period of your toils and of your immense sacrifices is approaching. I rejoice that the interesting revolutionary movements of so many years have issued in the formation of a Constitution designed to give permanency to the great object for which you have contended. I rejoice that liberty, which you have so long embraced with enthusiasm—liberty, of which you have been the invincible defenders, now finds an asylum in the bosom of a regularly organized government; a government which, being formed to secure the happiness of the French people, corresponds with the ardent wishes of my heart, while it gratifies the pride of every citizen of the United States by its resemblance to their own. On these glorious events, accept, sir, my sincere congratulations.

"In delivering to you these sentiments, I express not my own feelings only, but those of my fellow citi-

zens in relation to the commencement, the progress, and the issue of the French revolution; and they will certainly join with me in purest wishes to the Supreme Being, that the citizens of our sister republick, our magnanimous allies, may soon enjoy in peace, that liberty which they have purchased at so great a price, and all the happiness that liberty can bestow.

"I receive, sir, with lively sensibility, the symbol of the triumphs, and of the enfranchisements of your nation, the colours of France, which you have now presented to the United States. The transaction will be announced to Congress, and the colours will be deposited with the archives of the United States, which are at once the evidence and the memorials of their freedom and independence; may these be perpetual; and may the friendship of the two Republicks be commensurate with their existence."

The address of the French Minister, the reply of the President, the flag of France, and the letter of the Committee of Safety, were all transmitted by the President to Congress.

In February 1796, the treaty was returned in the form recommended by the Senate, and ratified by his Britannick Majesty; and on the last of that month, the President issued his Proclamation stating its ratification, and declaring it to be the law of the land.

The predominant party in the House of Representatives expressed surprise, that this Proclamation should be issued before the sense of the House was taken on the subject; as they denied the power of the President and Senate to complete a treaty without their sanction. In March a resolution passed, requesting the President "to lay before the House a copy of the instructions to the Minister of the United States, who negotiated the treaty with the King of Great Britain, communicated by his message of the first of March, together with the correspondence and other documents

relative to the said treaty; excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed."

This resolve placed the President in a situation of high responsibility. He knew that the majority of the House entertained the opinion, that a treaty was not valid until they had acted upon it. To oppose, in a government constituted like that of the United States, the popular branch of the Legislature would be attended with hazard, and subject him to much censure and abuse; but considerations of this nature make but weak impressions on a mind supremely solicitous to promote the publick interest.

Upon the most mature deliberation, the President conceived, that to grant this request of the House, would establish a false and dangerous principle in the diplomatick transactions of the nation, and he gave the following answer to their request.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

"With the utmost attention I have considered your resolution of the 24th instant, requesting me to lay before your House a copy of the instructions to the Minister of the United States, who negotiated the treaty with the King of Great Britain, together with the correspondence and other documents relative to that treaty, excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed.

"In deliberating upon this subject, it was impossible for me to lose sight of the principle which some have avowed in its discussion, or to avoid extending my views to the consequences which must flow from the admission of that principle.

"I trust that no part of my conduct has ever indicated a disposition to withhold any information which the Constitution has enjoined it upon the President as a duty to give, or which could be required of him by either house of Congress as a right; and with truth I

affirm, that it has been, and will continue to be, while I have the honour to preside in the government, my constant endeavour to harmonize with the other branches thereof, as far as the trust delegated to me by the people of the United States, and my sense of the obligation it imposes, to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution, will permit.

"The nature of foreign negotiations require caution, and their success must often depend on secrecy; and even when brought to a conclusion, a full disclosure of all the measures, demands, or eventual concessions which may have been proposed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitick; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniences, perhaps danger and mischief to other persons. The necessity of such caution and secrecy was one cogent reason for vesting the power of making treaties in the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the principle on which that body was formed, confining it to a small number of members.

"To admit then a right in the House of Representatives to demand and to have as a matter of course, all the papers respecting a negotiation with a foreign power, would be to establish a dangerous precedent.

"It does not occur that the inspection of the papers asked for, can be relative to any purpose under the cognizance of the House of Representatives, except that of an impeachment, which the resolution has not expressed. I repeat that I have no disposition to withhold any information which the duty of my station will permit, or the publick good shall require to be disclosed; and in fact, all the papers affecting the negotiation with Great Britain were laid before the Senate, when the treaty itself was communicated for their consideration and advice.

"The course which the debate has taken on the resolution of the house, leads to some observations on

the mode of making treaties under the Constitution of the United States.

"Having been a member of the General Convention, and knowing the principles on which the Constitution was formed, I have ever entertained but one opinion upon this subject; and from the first establishment of the government to this moment, my conduct has exemplified that opinion. That the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the President, by and with the consent of the Senate, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and that every treaty so made, and promulgated, thenceforward becomes the law of the land. It is thus that the treaty making power has been understood by foreign nations; and in all the treaties made with them, *we* have declared, and *they* have believed, that when ratified by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, they became obligatory. In this construction of the Constitution, every House of Representatives has heretofore acquiesced; and until the present time, not a doubt or suspicion has appeared to my knowledge, that this construction was not the true one. Nay, they have more than acquiesced; for until now, without controverting the obligations of such treaties, they have made all the requisite provisions for carrying them into effect.

"There is also reason to believe that this construction agrees with the opinions entertained by the State Conventions, when they were deliberating on the Constitution; especially by those who objected to it, because there was not required in commercial treaties, the consent of two thirds of the whole number of the members of the Senate, instead of two thirds of the Senators present; and because in treaties respecting territorial, and certain other rights and claims, the concurrence of three fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively, was not made necessary.

"It is a fact declared by the General Convention and universally understood that the Constitution of

the United States was the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession. And it is well known, that under this influence, the smaller states were admitted to an equal representation in the Senate with the larger states; and that this branch of the government was invested with great powers; for on the equal participation of those powers, the sovereignty and political safety of the smaller states were deemed essentially to depend.

"If other proofs than these and the plain letter of the Constitution itself be necessary to ascertain the point under consideration, they may be found in the journals of the General Convention which I have deposited in the office of the Department of State. In these journals it will appear, that a proposition was made, that no treaty should be binding on the United States, which was not ratified by a law; and that the proposition was explicitly rejected.

"As therefore it is perfectly clear to my understanding that the assent of the House of Representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty; as the treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision; and on these the papers called for can throw no light; and as it is essential to the due administration of the government, that the boundaries fixed by the Constitution between the different departments should be preserved; a just regard to the Constitution, and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request."

A resolution moved in the House to make the necessary appropriations to carry the British treaty into effect excited among the members the strongest emotions of human nature, and gave rise to speeches highly argumentative, eloquent, and animated. The debate was protracted until the people assumed the subject In their respective corporations, meetings were holden, the strength of parties was fully tried, and it clearly

appeared that the great majority were disposed to rally around the Executive. Innumerable petitions were presented to Congress praying them to make the requisite appropriations.

Unwilling to take upon themselves the consequences of resisting the publick will, Congress made the appropriations.

It was not in the administration of the government only, that General WASHINGTON found it necessary to exercise great caution and prudence. The convulsions of France and the political divisions of the United States, rendered it expedient that he should be circumspect in his personal friendships, and in the exercise of benevolent offices towards individual characters.

A sincere friendship had been formed between him and the Marquis La Fayette. This friendship was not disturbed by those vicissitudes in France, which occasioned the exile and foreign imprisonment of that nobleman. These rather increased the sensibility, and strengthened the attachment of the President towards the unfortunate Marquis. But on account of the state of parties in France and America, interpositions in his favour were privately made. The American Ministers at Foreign Courts were directed in an unofficial manner to exert themselves to obtain his liberation, or to render his confinement less oppressive. A confidential agent was sent to Berlin to solicit his liberty; but before he reached his place of destination, the King of Prussia had surrendered the Marquis to the Emperor of Germany. Mr. Pinckney, then at the Court of London, was directed to intimate the wishes of the President to the Austrian Minister at that Court, and to solicit the influence of the British Cabinet in favour of the illustrious prisoner. Disappointed in the expected mediation of Great Britain, the President addressed the following letter immediately to the Emperor of Germany.

"It will readily occur to your Majesty that occasions may sometimes exist, on which official considerations would constrain the Chief of a nation to be silent and passive in relation even to objects which affect his sensibility, and claim his interposition as a man. Finding myself precisely in this situation at present, I take the liberty of writing this private letter to your Majesty, being persuaded that my motives will also be my apology for it.

"In common with the people of this country, I retain a strong and cordial sense of the services rendered to them by the Marquis La Fayette; and my friendship for him has been constant and sincere. It is natural, therefore, that I should sympathize with him and his family in their misfortunes, and endeavour to mitigate the calamities they experience, among which his present confinement is not the least distressing.

"I forbear to enlarge on this delicate subject. Permit me only to submit to your Majesty's consideration, whether his long imprisonment, and the confiscation of his estate, and the indigence and dispersion of his family, and the painful anxieties incident to all those circumstances, do not form an assemblage of sufferings, which recommend him to the mediation of humanity? Allow me, sir, on this occasion, to be its organ; and to entreat that he may be permitted to come to this country on such conditions, and under such restrictions as your Majesty may think it expedient to prescribe.

"As it is a maxim with me not to ask, what under similar circumstances, I would not grant, your Majesty will do me the justice to believe, that this request appears to me to correspond with those great principles of magnanimity and wisdom, which form the basis of sound policy and durable glory."

This letter was sent to Mr. Pinckney, and was by him transmitted through the Austrian Minister to the Emperor. From this period the Marquis was treated

with more mildness, and was soon after discharged from his confinement; but what influence the President's letter had on these measures is not known.

In 1795, George Washington Motier La Fayette, the son of the Marquis La Fayette, made his escape from France, and arrived with his tutor at Boston. He immediately by letter communicated his situation to General WASHINGTON, and solicited his advice and patronage. The mother of young Fayette was then in France, and the President was surrounded by Frenchmen, the agents or friends of the administration, which had denounced the Marquis. These men were ready to denounce every act of favour done to a man who was proscribed by the French Government. From regard to the safety of that lady, and from prudential considerations in respect to his own official character, he thought it unadviseable to invite him immediately to the seat of government, and publickly to espouse his interest. But he wrote confidentially to a friend in the neighbourhood of Boston, requesting him to visit the young gentleman, to acquaint him with the reason which rendered it inexpedient that he should be invited into the President's family, and, to adopt the language of the letter, to "administer all the consolation that he can derive from the most unequivocal assurances of my standing in the place, and becoming to him a *father*, *friend*, *protector*, and *supporter*

"Considering how important it is to avoid idleness and dissipation—to improve his mind—and to give him all the advantages which education can bestow, my opinion and my advice to him is, (if he is qualified for admission) that he should enter as a student at the University in Cambridge; although it should be for a short time only. The expense of which, as also for every other means for his support, I will pay; and now do authorize you, my dear sir, to draw upon me accordingly. And if it be desired that his tutor should accompany him to the University, any expense that

he shall incur for the purpose, shall be borne by me in like manner."

The tutor of young Fayette thought he might with more advantage pursue his studies in private, and therefore he did not enter the University.

The members of Congress, in opposition to the measures of the Administration, obtained the knowledge of the arrival of a son of the Marquis La Fayette in some part of America. Expecting perhaps that the President had maintained a cold and unfeeling reserve towards him, they instituted an inquiry into his situation; and when they discovered that the President had extended towards young Fayette the assistance and the protection of a friend and a father, they dropped the subject.

This young gentlenian remained for a short time in the United States; returning to France, he distinguished himself in the army of Buonaparte; but the usual promotions have been denied him.

CHAPTER XIII.

The President calumniated—His Letter to Mr. Jefferson—Statement of the Secretary of the Treasury—The French Directory's attempt to control the American Government—Review of the Transactions with France—The President declares his resolution to retire from Publick Life—Meets Congress for the last Time—Describes the Letters that had been forged—Attends the Inauguration of Mr. Adams—Retires to Mount Vernon—Threatening Attitude of France—General Washington appointed Commander in Chief of the American Forces—His opinion of Publick Measures—His Indisposition and Death—Conclusion.

1796. The friends of General Washington knew that it was his intention to decline being a candidate at the third election of President, and this was expected by the publick. Warm solicitations were used to dissuade him from the intention, but his determination was fixed; and nothing could change it, excepting a

crisis in the affairs of his country, which would render retirement inconsistent with his duty, and derogatory to his character.

In the possibility of such an event, his friends prevailed with him to withhold the publick expression of his design until it should become necessary to direct the attention of the community to a successor. This silence alarmed the party opposed to his administration. His personal influence at the head of government, they conceived, could alone defeat their plans, and prevent a revolution in the National Council. Since the ratification of the British treaty, they had laid aside the decorous language and exteriour respect, which they had, until that period, observed towards the President, and on this occasion they with the utmost virulence assailed his character. His merit as a soldier, and his wisdom and patriotism as a statesman, were denied; and even his honour and honesty as a man were brought into question. Letters, forged and published in 1776, to injure his reputation as the General in the revolutionary war, were at this time republished as genuine, to excite prejudice against him. The queries, which he had confidentially proposed to the deliberation of his Cabinet, were laid before the publick, with comments designed to show, that they indicated a deadly hostility to France. The queries could have come before the publick only by a breach of confidence in some one of the Cabinet. Mr. Jefferson was disposed to prevent any suspicion from resting on the mind of General WASHINGTON, that he was the dishonourable individual, and for this purpose he addressed a letter to him, to which the President gave the following reply.

"If I had entertained any suspicion before, that the queries which have been published in Bache's paper, proceeded from you, the assurances you have given of the contrary would have removed them; but the truth is, I harboured none. I am at no loss to conjecture

from what source they flowed, through what channel they were conveyed, nor for what purpose they and similar publications appear.

"As you have mentioned the subject yourself, it would not be frank, candid, or friendly, to conceal that your conduct has been represented as derogating from that opinion I conceived you entertained of me; that to your particular friends and connexions you have described, and they have denounced me, as a person under dangerous influence, and that if I would listen *more* to some *other* opinions, all would be well. My answer has invariably been, that I had never discovered any thing in the conduct of Mr. Jefferson, to raise suspicions in my mind of his sincerity; that if he would retrace my publick conduct while he was in the administration, abundant proofs would occur to him, that truth and right decisions were the sole objects of my pursuit; that there were as many instances within his own knowledge, of my having decided *against* as in *favour* of the person evidently alluded to; and moreover, that I was no believer in the infallibility of the politicks or measures of any man living. In short, that I was no party man myself, and that the first wish of my heart was, if parties did exist, to reconcile them.

"To this I may add, and very truly, that until the last year or two, I had no conception that parties would, or even could go the lengths I have been witness to; nor did I believe until lately, that it was within the bounds of probability; hardly within those of possibility, that while I was using my utmost exertions to establish a national character of our own, independent, as far as our obligations and justice would permit, of every nation of the earth; and wished by steering a steady course to preserve this country from the horrours of a desolating war, I should be accused of being the enemy of one nation, and subject to the influence of another; and to prove it, that every act

of my administration would be tortured, and the grossest and most insidious misrepresentations of them be made, by giving one side only of a subject, and that too in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero—to a notorious defaulter —or even to a common pickpocket.

"But enough of this. I have already gone further in the expression of my feelings than I intended."

General WASHINGTON was also atrociously charged with having unlawfully drawn money from the publick treasury for his private use. This charge was supported by extracts from the books of the national treasury, and his enemies boasted that they had discovered an indelible blemish in his character; but their triumph was only for a moment. The Secretary of the Treasury published a statement of facts, by which it clearly appeared that the money drawn by the orders of the President had in no year exceeded the appropriations for his salary. He received no publick money but for the support of his family, in some quarters of the year the receipts had overrun the amount due, and in others fallen short; and that the President himself had no concern in the transaction, the business having been conducted by a gentleman who superintended his household. The publick frowned his accusers into silence, and the weapon levelled against his reputation fell innoxious to the ground.

The Government of France was too well acquainted with the number and the temper of their friends in the United States, to relinquish the plan formed to obtain a controlling influence in the administration of American affairs. Mr. Fauchet had made formal complaints against the measures of President WASHINGTON. For a time his remonstrances were made in the language of decency and respect; but at the close of his ministry, he descended to the reproachful manner of his predecessor. Mr. Adet arrived at Philadelphia, while the Senate were deliberating on the British

treaty, and full communications were made to him on the subject. Colonel Monroe was also furnished with documents, calculated to remove uneasiness from the minds of the French Directory respecting this transaction. But instead of communicating to the Directory the documents and reasonings of his government, while they were deliberating on this subject, and before they had committed themselves by any publick act, he reserved them as answers to complaints, that the government of France might make against the treaty with Great Britain.

The President well knew that France had no just ground of complaint against the United States; but he was apprehensive that her disappointment at the adjustment of a controversy which had long menaced war between Great Britain and America, would induce her to some act of violence. He therefore deemed it highly important, that there should be a Minister at Paris, who fully entered into the views of the Administration. Not being perfectly satisfied with Mr. Monroe, he recalled him, and appointed as his successor, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. The French having complained of most of the acts of the American Government, in relation to the powers at war, by order of the President these acts were carefully reviewed, a fair and minute detail of all points of difference between the two nations given, and the measures of the Administration defended by unanswerable arguments. Upon this lucid and conclusive vindication of the measures of the Administration, the President relied to remove jealousy from the minds of the Directory, and restore the harmony of the two nations; but unhappily the party at home had taken their ground, and were not by any considerations to be moved from it, and supported by these, the French Directory were not disposed to recede.

At the near approach of the period for the election of a President, it fully appeared, that General Wash

INGTON had not lost his hold on the affections and confidence of his countrymen. The publick sentiment every where indicated a determination to choose no man an elector, on whom implicit confidence could not be placed, to give his suffrage for General WASHINGTON; and it was satisfactorily ascertained, that should the General consent to be a candidate, he would for the third time be unanimously chosen President of the United States.

In this state of the publick mind, in the month of September he published the following address.

"FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,

"The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the publick voice, that I should now apprize you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

"I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

"The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would

have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

"I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

"The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

"In looking forward to the moment, which is to terminate the career of my publick life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my be

loved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me, still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious—vicissitudes of fortune, often discouraging—in situations, in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use, of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption, of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

"Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observa-

tion, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them, the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsels. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

"Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

"The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress, against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it, as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

"For this you have every inducement of sympathy

and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

"But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

"The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted.

"The *East*, in like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interiour communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its

growth and comfort—and what is, perhaps, of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets*, for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantick side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

"While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger—a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations, and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as the main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

"These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotick desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experi-

ence solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its bands.

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties, by *geographical* discriminations, *Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantick* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous satisfaction by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain and in the universal satisfaction at that event through out the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantick states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, to-

wards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union, by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

"To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government, better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is, the right of the people to make and to alter their constitution of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentick act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

"All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action

of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the publick administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

"However combinations or associations of the above description, may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying, afterwards, the very engines which had lifted them to unjust dominion.

"Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist, with care, the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of government, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion;

and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour, as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

"I have already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

"This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes, in all governments; more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

"The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism: but this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of publick liberty.

"Without looking forward to an extremity of this

kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it. It serves always to distract the publick councils and enfeeble the publick administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

"There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of publick opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

"It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the

form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the publick weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the Constitution designates: but let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and publick felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect

that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

"It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabrick?

"Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to publick opinion, it is essential that publick opinion should be enlightened.

"As a very important source of strength and security, cherish publick credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it: avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that publick opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsick embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it; and for a spirit of acquiescence in the mea-

sures for obtaining revenue, which the publick exigencies may at any time dictate.

"Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and (at no distant period) a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

"In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation, against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

"Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason

would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes, perhaps, the liberty of nations has been the victim.

"So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for publick opinion, or a laudable zeal for publick good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

"As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestick factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead publick opinion, to influence or awe the publick councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence

(I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

"Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politicks, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving

us provocation; when we may choose peace or war as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour, or caprice?

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to publick than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

"Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

"Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disin-

terested favours from another; that it must pay, with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater errour than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

"In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur, to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

"How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the publick records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

"In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

"After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

"The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary, on this occasion, to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

"The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations

"The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

"Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional errour, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errours. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

"Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation, that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers."

This Address to the people of the United States was received with the highest veneration and gratitude Several of the State Legislatures ordered it to be put upon their journals, and every citizen considered it as the legacy of the most distinguished American Patriot.

On the 7th of December, 1796, the President for the last time, met the National Legislature. In his Speech, after taking a view of the situation of the United States, he, regardless of opposition and censure, recommended the attention of Congress to those measures which he deemed essential to national independence, honour, and prosperity. The first among these was the creation of a Navy.

"To an active external commerce, the protection of a naval force *is indispensable. This is manifest* with regard to wars in which a State is itself a party: but besides this, it is in our own experience, that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag requires a naval force, organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war, by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party, as may first or last, leave no other option. From the best information I have been able to obtain,

it would seem as if our trade to the Mediterranean, without a protecting force, will always be insecure; and our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have but just been relieved.

"These considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a Navy. The increasing progress of their navigation promises them, at no distant period, the requisite supply of seamen; and their means, in other respects, favour the undertaking. It is an encouragement, likewise, that their particular situation will give weight and influence to a moderate naval force in their hands. Will it not then be adviseable to begin without delay to provide and lay up materials for the building and equipping of ships of war; and to proceed in the work by degrees, in proportion as our resources shall render it practicable without inconvenience; so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present."

He proceeded to recommend those establishments for the manufacturing such articles as are necessary for the defence of the country, an institution for the improvement of agriculture, a Military Academy, and a National University. In reference to foreign powers, he observed:

"While in our external relations, some serious inconveniences and embarrassments have been overcome, and others lessened, it is with much pain and deep regret I mention that circumstances, of a very unwelcome nature, have lately occurred. Our trade has suffered, and is suffering extensive injuries in the West Indies from the cruisers and agents of the French Republick; and communications have been received from its minister here, which indicate the danger of a further disturbance of our commerce by its authority; and which are in other respects far from agreeable.

"It has been my constant, sincere, and earnest wish, in conformity with that of our nation, to maintain cordial harmony, and a perfectly friendly understanding with that Republick. This wish remains unabated; and I shall persevere in the endeavour to fulfil it to the utmost extent of what shall be consistent with a just and indispensable regard to the rights and honour of our country; nor will I easily cease to cherish the expectation, that a spirit of justice, candour, and friendship, on the part of the Republick, will eventually ensure success.

"In pursuing this course, however, I cannot forget what is due to the character of our government and nation; or to a full and entire confidence in the good sense, patriotism, self-respect, and fortitude of my countrymen."

In the following manner, he concluded his Address.

"The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration of the present form of Government commenced; and I cannot omit this occasion to congratulate you and my country on the success of the experiment; nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and Sovereign Arbiter of Nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved, and that the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties, may be perpetual."

The Senate in their reply approved the sentiments of the address, and, noticing the prosperity of the United States, they added,

"Whilst contemplating the causes that produced this auspicious result, we must acknowledge the excellence of the constitutional system, and the wisdom of the legislative provisions; but we should be deficient

in gratitude and justice, did we not attribute a great portion of these advantages to the virtue, firmness, and talents of your administration; which have been conspicuously displayed, in the most trying times, and on the most critical occasions; it is therefore with the sincerest regret, that we now receive an official notification of your intentions to retire from the publick employments of your country.

"When we review the various scenes of your publick life, so long and so successfully devoted to the most arduous services, civil and military; as well during the struggles of the American Revolution, as the convulsive periods of a recent date, we cannot look forward to your retirement without our warmest affections and most anxious regards accompanying you; and without mingling with our fellow citizens at large, in the sincerest wishes for your personal happiness, that sensibility and attachment can express.

"The most effectual consolation that can offer for the loss we are about to sustain, arises from the animating reflection that the influence of your example will extend to your successors, and the United States thus continue to enjoy an able, upright, and energetick Administration."

In the House of Representatives, an answer, which promised attention to the several subjects recommended in the Speech, and concluded as follows, was after pointed objection and warm debate, voted by a large majority.

"And while we entertain a grateful conviction that your wise, firm, and patriotick administration has been signally conducive to the success of the present form of government, we cannot forbear to express the deep sensations of regret with which we contemplate your intended retirement from office.

"As no other suitable occasion may occur, we cannot suffer the present to pass without attempting to

disclose some of the emotions which it cannot fail to awaken.

"The gratitude and admiration of your countrymen are still drawn to the recollection of those resplendent virtues and talents which were so eminently instrumental to the achievement of the Revolution, and of which that glorious event will ever be the memorial. Your obedience to the voice of duty and your country, when you quitted reluctantly, a second time, the retreat you had chosen, and first accepted the Presidency, afforded a new proof of the devotedness of your zeal in its service, and an earnest of the patriotism and success which have characterized your Administration. As the grateful confidence of the citizens in the virtues of their Chief Magistrate has essentially contributed to that success, we persuade ourselves that the millions whom we represent, participate with us in the anxious solicitude of the present occasion.

"Yet we cannot be unmindful that your moderation and magnanimity, twice displayed by retiring from your exalted stations, afford examples no less rare and instructive to mankind than valuable to a Republick.

"Although we are sensible that this event, of itself, completes the lustre of a character already conspicuously unrivalled by the coincidence of virtue, talents, success, and publick estimation; yet we conceive we owe it to you, sir, and still more emphatically to ourselves and to our nation, (of the language of whose hearts we presume to think ourselves, at this moment, the faithful interpreters) to express the sentiments with which it is contemplated.

"The spectacle of a free and enlightened nation, offering by its Representatives the tribute of unfeigned approbation to its first citizen, however novel and interesting it may be, derives all its lustre (a lustre which accident or enthusiasm could not bestow, and

which adulation would tarnish) from the transcendent merit, of which it is the voluntary testimony.

"May you long enjoy that liberty which is so dear to you, and to which your name will ever be so dear May your own virtue and a nation's prayers obtain the happiest sunshine for the decline of your days, and the choicest of future blessings. For our country's sake, and for the sake of republican liberty, it is our earnest wish that your example may be the guide of your successors; and thus, after being the ornament and safeguard of the present age, become the patrimony of our descendants"

President WASHINGTON now with supreme delight anticipated the time when he should quit the storms and agitations of publick life, for the retirement of Mount Vernon; and on the day, which terminated his Presidential course, he directed the following letter to the Secretary of State

"DEAR SIR,

"At the conclusion of my publick employments I have thought it expedient to notice the publication of certain forged letters which first appeared in the year 1776, and were obtruded upon the publick as mine. They are said by the editor to have been found in a small portmanteau that I had left in the care of my mulatto servant named Billy, who it is pretended was taken prisoner at Fort Lee, in 1776. The period when these letters were first printed will be recollected, and what were the impressions they were intended to produce on the publick mind. It was then supposed to be of some consequence to strike at the integrity of the motives of the American Commander in Chief, and to paint his inclinations as at variance with his professions and his duty—another crisis in the affairs of America having occurred, the same weapon has been resorted to, to wound my character and deceive the people.

"The letters in question have the dates, addresses, and signatures here following."

"*New-York, June* 12, 1776.

"*To Mr.* LUND WASHINGTON, *at Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia.* G. W.

"*June* 18, 1776.

"*To* JOHN PARK CUSTIS, *Esq. at the Hon.* BENEDICT CALVERT'S, *Esq. Mount Airy, Maryland.* G. W.

"*New-York July* 8, 1776.

"*To Mr.* LUND WASHINGTON, *Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia.* G. W.

"*New-York, July* 16, 1776.

"*To Mr.* LUND WASHINGTON. G. W.

"*New-York, July* 15, 1776.

"*To Mr.* LUND WASHINGTON. G. W.

"*New-York, July* 22, 1776.

"*To Mr.* LUND WASHINGTON. G. W.

"*June* 24, 1776.

"*To Mrs.* WASHINGTON.

"At the time when these letters first appeared, it was notorious to the army immediately under my command, and particularly to the gentlemen attached to my person, that my mulatto man Billy had never been one moment in the power of the enemy. It is also a fact that no part of my baggage, or any of my attendants, were captured during the whole course of the war. These well known facts made it unnecessary, during the war, to cal the publick attention to the forgery, by any express declaration of mine; and a firm reliance on my fellow citizens, and the abundant proofs they gave of their confidence in me, rendered it alike unnecessary to take any formal notice of the revival of the imposition, during my civil administration. But as I cannot know how soon a more serious event may succeed to that which will this day take place, I have thought it a duty that I owed to myself, to my country, and to truth, now to detail the circumstances above recited, and to add my solemn declaration that

the letters herein described, are a base forgery, and that I never saw or heard of them until they appeared in print. The present letter I commit to your care, and desire it may be deposited in the office of the Department of State as a testimony of the truth to the present generation and to posterity."

On the fourth of March 1797, he attended the Inauguration of his successor in office. Great sensibility was manifested by the members of the Legislature and other distinguished characters, when he entered the Senate Chamber; and much admiration expressed, at the complacence and delight, he manifested at seeing another clothed with the authority, with which he had himself been invested.

Having paid his affectionate compliments to Mr. Adams as President of the United States, he bid adieu to the seat of government, and hastened to the de lights of domestick life. He intended that his jour ney should have been private, but the attempt was vain; the same affectionate and respectful attentions were on this occasion paid him, which he had received during his Presidency.

At the adoption of the Federal Constitution, foreign powers refused all negotiation with Congress, publick credit was lost, nor was any function of a living government performed. Under his own auspices, General WASHINGTON saw a National Government firmly established, and the country rise to a state of strength and respectability; controversies with foreign nations, which had long existed, and which involved the best interests of the United States settled; the resources of the country explored and brought into action; the debts of the war funded, and credit restored, through all the ramifications of publick and private concerns; the agriculture and commerce of his country flourishing beyond example, and its capital doubled.

One cloud only at this time obscured the political horizon of the United States. France had assumed a

threatening attitude; but for the peace and safety of the country, the General confided in the patriotism of his fellow citizens, under the providence of Heaven.

In the rejection of the American Envoys by the Court of France, in their menaces to the United States, and in the measures adopted under the administration of Mr. Adams, his feelings were deeply interested. When the indignities of the Directory exceeded endurance, and the spirit of the American nation was roused to resistance, every eye was directed to him as the Military leader. He might, without jealousy, be placed at the head of a powerful army, and could bring into the field all the military strength and talents of the country.

Colonel Hamilton in May 1798, intimated to him this universal expectation; to whom General WASHINGTON thus replied.

"You may be assured that my mind is deeply impressed with the present situation of publick affairs, and not a little agitated by the outrageous conduct of France towards the United States, and at the inimical conduct of those partisans who aid and abet her measures. You may believe further, from assurances equally sincere, that if there was any thing in my power to be done consistently, to avert or lessen the danger of the crisis, it should be rendered with hand and heart.

"But, my dear Sir, dark as matters appear at present, and expedient as it is to be prepared for the worst that can happen (and no man is more disposed to this measure than I am) I cannot make up my mind yet, for the expectation of open war; or, in other words, for a formidable invasion by France. I cannot believe, although I think her capable of any thing, that she will attempt to do more than she has done. When she perceives the spirit and policy of this country rising into resistance, and that she has falsely calulated

upon support from a large part of the people to promote her views and influence in it, she will desist even from these practices, unless unexpected events in Europe, or the acquisition of Louisiana and the Floridas should induce her to continue them. And I believe further, that although the leaders of their party in this country will not change their sentiments, they will be obliged to change their plan, or the mode of carrying it on. The effervescence which is appearing in all quarters and the desertion of their followers, will frown them into silence, at least for a while.

"If I did not view things in this light, my mind would be infinitely more disquieted than it is: for, if a crisis should arrive when a sense of duty, or a call from my country should become so imperious as to leave me no choice, I should prepare for relinquishment, and go with as much reluctance from my present peaceful abode, as I should go to the tombs of my ancestors."

In June, President Adams wrote General WASHINGTON a letter in which he thus alluded to his again appearing in a publick character.

"In forming an army, whenever I must come to that extremity, I am at an immense loss whether to call out all the old Generals, or to appoint a young set. If the French come here, we must learn to march with a quick step, and to attack, for in that way only they are said to be vulnerable. I must tax you sometimes for advice. We must have your name, if you will, in any case, permit us to use it. There will be more efficacy in it than in many an army."

Four days after the Secretary of War addressed him in the following manner on the same subject.

"May we flatter ourselves that, in a crisis so awful and important, you will accept the command of all our armies? I hope you will, because you alone can unite all hearts and all hands, if it is possible that they can be united."

To the President he thus replied.

"At the epoch of my retirement, an invasion of these states by any European power, or even the probability of such an event in my days, was so far from being contemplated by me, that I had no conception either that or any other occurrence would arise, in so short a period, which could turn my eyes from the shades of Mount Vernon. But this seems to be the age of wonders. And it is reserved for intoxicated and lawless France (for purposes of providence far beyond the reach of human ken) to slaughter her own citizens, and to disturb the repose of all the world besides. From a view of the past, from the prospect of the present, and of that which seems to be expected, it is not easy for me to decide satisfactorily on the part it might best become me to act. In case of actual invasion by a formidable force, I certainly should not entrench myself under the cover of age and retirement, if my services should be required by my country to assist in repelling it. And if there be good cause to expect such an event, which certainly must be better known to the government than to private citizens, delay in preparing for it may be dangerous, improper, and not to be justified by prudence. The uncertainty however of the latter, in my mind, creates my embarrassment; for I cannot bring it to believe, regardless as the French are of treaties, and of the laws of nations, and capable as I conceive them to be of any species of despotism and injustice, that they will attempt to invade this country after such an uniform and unequivocal expression of the determination of the people in all parts to oppose them with their lives and fortunes. That they have been led to believe by their agents and partisans among us that we are a divided people, that the latter are opposed to their own government, and that the show of a small force would occasion a revolt, I have no doubt; and how far these men (grown desperate) will further at

tempt to deceive, and may succeed in keeping up the deception is problematical. Without that, the folly of the Directory in such an attempt would, I conceive, be more conspicuous, if possible, than their wickedness.

"Having with candour made this disclosure of the state of my mind, it remains only for me to add, that to those who know me best, it is best known, that should imperious circumstances induce me to exchange once more the smooth paths of retirement for the thorny ways of publick life, at a period too when repose is more congenial to nature, that it would be productive of sensations which can be more easily conceived than expressed."

To the question of the Secretary of War, this was his answer.

"It cannot be necessary for me to premise to you or to others who know my sentiments, that to quit the tranquillity of retirement, and enter the boundless field of responsibility, would be productive of sensations which a better pen than I possess would find it difficult to describe. Nevertheless the principle by which my conduct has been actuated through life, would not suffer me, in any great emergency, to withhold any services I could render when required by my country; especially in a case where its dearest rights are assailed by lawless ambition and intoxicated power, in contempt of every principle of justice, and in violation of solemn compacts, and of laws which govern all civilized nations; and this too with the obvious intent to sow thick the seeds of disunion, for the purpose of subjugating our government, and destroying our independence and happiness.

"Under circumstances like these, accompanied by an actual invasion of our territory, it would be difficult for me at any time to remain an idle spectator under the plea of age or retirement. With sorrow, it is true, I should quit the shades of my peaceful abode, and the ease and happiness I now enjoy, to encounter anew

the turmoils of war, to which, possibly, my strength and powers might be found incompetent. These, however, should not be stumbling blocks in my own way But there are other things highly important for me to ascertain and settle, before I could give a definitive answer to your question.

"First, the propriety in the opinion of the publick, so far as that opinion has been expressed in conversation, of my appearing again on the publick theatre, after declaring the sentiments I did in my valedictory address of September, 1796.

"2dly. A conviction in my own breast, from the best information that can be obtained, that it is the wish of my country that its military force should be committed to my charge; and

3dly. That the army now to be formed should be so appointed as to afford a well grounded hope of its doing honour to the country, and credit to him who commands it in the field."

Before these letters had reached the seat of government, the President had nominated to the Senate, "General WASHINGTON to be Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of the Armies raised and to be raised." The Secretary of War waited upon him with his commission, and with the following letter from the President.

"Mr. M'Henry, the Secretary of War, will have the honour to wait on you in my behalf, to impart to you a step I have ventured to take, which I should have been happy to have communicated in person, had such a journey at this time been in my power.

"My reasons for this measure will be too well known to need any explanation to the publick. Every friend and every enemy of America will comprehend them at first blush. To you, sir, I owe all the apology I can make. The urgent necessity I am in of your advice and assistance, indeed of your conduct and direction of the war, is all I can urge; and that is a suf

ficient justification to myself and to the world. I hope it will be so considered by yourself. Mr. M'Henry will have the honour to consult you upon the organi zation of the army, and upon every thing relating to it."

With the order to wait on General WASHINGTON, the Secretary of War received from President Adams the following instructions.

"It is my desire that you embrace the first opportu nity to set out on your journey to Mount Vernon, and wait on General WASHINGTON with the commission of Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of the armies of the United States, which, by the advice and consent of the Senate, has been signed by me.

"The reasons and motives which prevailed on me to venture on such a step as the nomination of this great and illustrious character, whose voluntary resignation alone occasioned my introduction to the office I now hold, were too numerous to be detailed in this letter, and are too obvious and important to escape the observation of any part of America or Europe. But as it is a movement of great delicacy, it will require all your address to communicate the subject in a manner that shall be inoffensive to his feelings, and consistent with all the respect that is due from me to him.

"If the General should decline the appointment, all the world will be silent, and respectfully acquiesce. If he should accept it, all the world, except the enemies of this country, will rejoice. If he should come to no decisive determination, but take the subject into consideration, I shall not appoint any other Lieutenant General until his conclusion is known."

The General opened himself explicitly to the Secretary of War, and by him returned the following answer to the President's communication.

"I had the honour, on the evening of the 11th instant, to receive from the hands of the Secretary of War your favour of the 7th, announcing that you had, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed

me Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of the Armies raised, or to be raised for the service of the United States.

"I cannot express how greatly affected I am at this new proof of publick confidence, and at the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication. At the same time, I must not conceal from you my earnest wish that the choice had fallen upon a man less declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the usual vicissitudes of war.

"You know, sir, what calculations I had made relative to the probable course of events on my retiring from office, and the determination, with which I had consoled myself, of closing the remnant of my days in my present peaceful abode. You will therefore be at no loss to conceive and appreciate the sensations I must have experienced, to bring my mind to any conclusion that would pledge me at so late a period of life, to leave scenes I sincerely love, to enter upon the boundless field of publick action, incessant trouble, and high responsibility.

"It was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to recent transactions. The conduct of the Directory of France towards our country; their insidious hostility to its government; their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it; the evident tendency of their arts, and those of their agents, to countenance and invigorate opposition; their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations; their war upon our defenceless commerce; their treatment of our Ministers of peace; and their demands, amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me, sentiments corresponding with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you.

"Believe me, sir, no man can more cordially approve the wise and prudent measures of your Administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence,

and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from Congress such laws and means as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

"Satisfied, therefore, that you have sincerely wished and endeavoured to avert war, and exhausted to the last drop the cup of reconciliation, we can, with pure hearts, appeal to heaven for the justice of our cause, and may confidently trust the final result, to that kind Providence who has heretofore, and so often, signally favoured the people of the United States.

"Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person of every description to contribute, at all times, to his country's welfare, and especially in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred is so seriously threatened, I have finally determined to accept the commission of Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States, with the reserve only, that I shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensable by the urgency of circumstances.

"In making this reservation, I beg it to be understood that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you may think I can afford. I take the liberty also to mention that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the publick, or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment before I am in a situation to incur expense."

From this period the domestick employments of General WASHINGTON were blended with the concerns of his publick commission; but he did not apprehend that France would push her aggressions to actual war. He conceived that the object of the Directory was to subject the Government of the United States to their measures, either through fear of war, or by the controlling influence of the people.

It was the settled opinion of the General, that the great body of the American people were actuated by the love of country, and only needed information respecting the measures of government to induce them to support it. In the patriotick spirit, excited in 1798, he contemplated a resource, which might at all times be relied upon to repel foreign aggressions, and on this occasion he confidently expected that France would recede from her insolent pretensions.

But he did not live to see the fulfilment of his predictions. On Friday, December 13, 1799, while superintending some improvements on his estate, he was out in a light rain, which wet his neck and hair. The occurrence commanded no immediate attention, but in the course of the ensuing night he was seized with an inflammation of the wind pipe. The complaint was accompanied with difficulty in swallowing, and with a quick and laborious respiration.

Conceiving that bleeding would be salutary, a vein was opened by one accustomed to the use of the lancet, and fourteen ounces of blood taken from him; but he could not be persuaded to send for his physician until the morning. About 11 o'clock, on Saturday, Dr. Craik arrived, and perceiving his extreme danger, desired the advice of two consulting physicians; but their aid, in this case, was unavailing. Speaking soon became painful, and respiration contracted and imperfect, and at half past eleven on Saturday night, December 14, in the full possession of reason, he expired.

From the moment of attack, he believed the disease would prove mortal, and submitted to medical aid rather to gratify the wishes of his anxious friends, than from any expectation of relief. Some hours before death, with extreme difficulty, he intelligibly expressed a desire that he might be permitted to die without further disturbance. When he could no longer swallow, he undressed himself and got into bed, there to await his dissolution Dr Craik took the head of his

beloved and respected friend in his lap, to whom the General said, "Doctor, I am dying, and have been dying for a long time, but I am not afraid to die." With fortitude he bore the painful conflict, and with perfect serenity resigned himself to his God.

His interment on Wednesday, the 18th of December, was attended by religious services, and military honours; and a great concourse of people followed his hearse, as undissembled mourners.

The report of the death of General WASHINGTON reached the seat of Government before the information of his sickness. It excited the highest sensibility in the members of Congress, and overwhelmed them with affliction. A solemn silence prevailed in the House of Representatives for several minutes. At length Mr. Marshall, the present Chief Justice of the United States, mentioned the melancholy information. "This information is not certain," he observed, "but there is too much reason to believe it true. After receiving intelligence," he added, "of a national calamity so heavy and afflicting, the House of Representatives can be but ill fitted for publick business." In consequence, both Houses adjourned.

On opening the House the next morning, Mr. Marshall addressed the Chair in the following manner.

"The melancholy event which was yesterday announced with doubt, has been rendered but too certain Our WASHINGTON is no more! The Hero, the Patriot, and the Sage of America—the man on whom, in times of danger, every eye was turned, and all hopes were placed, lives now only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people.

"If, sir, it had even not been usual openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom Heaven has selected as its instruments for dispensing good to man, yet, such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents which have marked the life of him whose loss we all deplore, that the whole Amer-

can nation, impelled by the same feelings, would call, with one voice, for a publick manifestation of that sor row which is so deep and so universal.

"More than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide spreading empire, and to give to the Western World, independence and freedom.

"Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the ploughshare, and sink the soldier into the citizen.

"When the debility of our Federal System had become manifest, and the bonds which connected this vast Continent were dissolving, we have seen him, the Chief of those Patriots who formed for us a Constitution, which, by preserving the Union, will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings which our Revolution had promised to bestow.

"In obedience to the general voice of his country, calling him to preside over a great people, we have seen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and in a season more stormy and tempestuous than war itself, with calm and wise determination, pursue the true interests of the nation, and contribute, more than any other could contribute, to the establishment of that system of policy, which will, I trust, yet preserve our peace, our honour, and independence.

"Having twice been unanimously chosen the Chief Magistrate of a free people, we have seen him, at a time when his re-election with universal suffrage could not be doubted, afford to the world a rare instance of moderation, by withdrawing from his high station to the peaceful walks of private life.

"However the publick confidence may change, and the publick affections fluctuate with respect to others, with respect to him, they have, in war and in peace, in publick and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues

"Let us then, Mr. Speaker, pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the Grand Council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels. For this purpose I hold in my hand some resolutions which I take the liberty of offering to the House."

The resolutions, after stating the death of General WASHINGTON, were as follows.

"Resolved, That this House will wait on the President in condolence of this mournful event.

"Resolved, That the Speaker's chair be shrouded with black, and that the members and officers of the House wear black during the session.

"Resolved, That a Committee in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow citizens."

These resolutions had no sooner passed, than a written message was received from the President, transmitting a letter from Mr. Lear, "which," said the message, "will inform you that it had pleased Divine Providence to remove from this life our excellent fellow citizen, GEORGE WASHINGTON, by the purity of his life, and a long series of services to his country, rendered illustrious through the world. It remains for an affectionate and grateful people, in whose hearts he can never die, to pay suitable honour to his memory."

On this mournful event, the Senate addressed to the President the following letter.

"The Senate of the United States respectfully take leave, sir, to express to you their deep regret for the loss their country sustains in the death of General GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"This event, so distressing to all our fellow citizens, must be peculiarly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in *deeds of patriotism*. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours On this occa

sion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man, at such a crisis, is no common calamity to the world. Our country mourns a Father. The Almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to HIM who "maketh darkness his pavilion."

"With patriotick pride we review the life of our WASHINGTON, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but *his* fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of *his* virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory; he has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honour; he has deposited it safely where misfortune cannot tarnish it; where malice cannot blast it. Favoured of heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

"Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. WASHINGTON yet lives on Earth in his spotless example—His spirit is in Heaven.

"Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroick General, the patriotick Statesman, and the virtuous Sage. Let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labours and his example *are their inheritance*."

To which the President made the following answer.

"I receive, with the most respectful and affectionate sentiments, in this impressive address, the obliging expressions of your regret for the loss our country has sustained, in the death of her most esteemed, beloved, and admired citizen.

"In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me to say that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress, and most trying perplexities. I have also attended him in his highest elevation, and most prosperous felicity, with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation, and constancy.

"Among all our original associates in that memorable *league of this Continent* in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the general government. Although with a constitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for retirement, I *feel* myself alone, bereaved of my last brother; yet I derive a strong consolation from the unanimous disposition which appears in all ages and classes to mingle their sorrows with mine on this common calamity to the world.

"The life of our WASHINGTON cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries, who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of *royalty* could only have served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him from being a modest *citizen*, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds, who, believing that characters and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it. *Malice* could never blast his honour, and *envy* made him a singular exception to her universal rule. For himself, he had lived long enough to life and to glory. For his fellow citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal; for me, his departure is at a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of Providence over the passions of men, and the results

of their councils and actions, as well as over their lives nothing remains for me but *humble resignation.*

"His example is now complete; and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read. If a Trajan found a Pliny, a Marcus Aurelius can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians."

A joint committee of the two Houses reported the following resolutions.

"That a marble monument be erected by the United States at the city of *Washington*, and that the family of General WASHINGTON be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it; and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

"That there be a funeral procession from Congress Hall to the German Lutheran Church, in memory of General WASHINGTON, on Thursday the 26th instant, and that an oration be prepared at the request of Congress, to be delivered before both Houses on that day; and that the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives, be desired to request one of the members of Congress to prepare and deliver the same.

"That it be recommended to the people of the United States to wear crape on the left arm as mourning for thirty days

"That the President of the United States be requested to direct a copy of these resolutions to be transmitted to Mrs. Washington, assuring her of the profound respect Congress will ever bear to her person and character, of their condolence on the late afflicting dispensation of Providence, and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General WASHINGTON in the manner expressed in the first resolution.

"That the President be requested to issue his Proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States the recommendation contained in the third resolution."

The President transmitted the resolutions of Congress to Mrs. Washington, to which she thus replied.

"Taught by the great example which I have so long had before me, never to oppose my private wishes to the publick will, I must consent to the request made by Congress, which you have had the goodness to transmit to me; and in doing this, I need not, I cannot say, what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of duty."

Information of the death of General WASHINGTON was, throughout the United States, accompanied by spontaneous and universal expressions of deep grief for his loss, and of the highest veneration for his memory. The citizens without exception complied with the recommendations of Congress. Civil Incorporations and Legislative Bodies, Colleges and all other respectable Societies, formed funeral processions, and attended upon prayers, eulogies, and orations.

The resolution of Congress respecting the monument has not been carried into execution. When a motion for the necessary appropriation was made in the House of Representatives, many members manifested a preference for an Equestrian Statue, voted by Congress at the close of the war, and in the dispute between a monument and a statue, the session of the Legislature passed away, and no appropriation was made.

They, who had opposed every part of his administration, probably could not in sincerity favour a National Monument to his memory; and when the subject was revived in Congress, the publick feelings, having in some measure subsided, they opposed any appropriation for this purpose, as an improper use of publick money. The reason assigned for objecting to

the measure was, that the gratitude and veneration of the people were the appropriate monument of the publick services of the American Patriot.

General Washington never had any children. By his will he left Mrs. Washington the use of all his property during her life. At her decease he liberated his slaves, and disposed of property among his and her relations, amounting by his own estimate, to five hundred and thirty thousand dollars. This amount of property does not include the Mansion House on Mount Vernon, nor the domain connected with it, which was under the personal management of General Washington.

CONCLUSION.

General Washington was exactly six feet in height, he appeared taller, as his shoulders rose a little higher than the true proportion. His eyes were of a gray, and his hair of a brown colour. His limbs were well formed, and indicated strength. His complexion was light, and his countenance serene and thoughtful.

His manners were graceful, manly, and dignified. His general appearance never failed to engage the respect and esteem of all who approached him.

Possessing strong natural passions, and having the nicest feelings of honour, he was in early life prone keenly to resent practices which carried the intention of abuse or insult; but the reflections of maturer age gave him the most perfect government of himself. He possessed a faculty above all other men to hide the weaknesses inseparable from human nature; and he bore with meekness and equanimity his distinguished honours.

Reserved, but not haughty, in his disposition, he was accessible to all in concerns of business, but he

opened himself only to his confidential friends; and no art or address could draw from him an opinion, which he thought prudent to conceal.

He was not so much distinguished for brilliancy of genius as for solidity of judgment, and consummate prudence of conduct. He was not so eminent for any one quality of greatness and worth, as for the union of those great, amiable, and good qualities, which are very rarely combined in the same character.

His maxims were formed upon the result of mature reflection, or extensive experience; they were the invariable rules of his practice; and on all important instances, he seemed to have an intuitive view of what the occasion rendered fit and proper. He pursued his purposes with a resolution, which, one solitary moment excepted, never failed him.*

Alive to social pleasures, he delighted to enter into familiar conversation with his acquaintance, and was sometimes sportive in his letters to his friends; but he never lost sight of the dignity of his character, nor deviated from the decorous and appropriate behaviour becoming his station in society.

He commanded from all the most respectful attention, and no man in his company ever fell into light or lewd conversation. His style of living corresponded with his wealth; but his extensive establishment was managed with the strictest economy, and he ever reserved ample funds liberally to promote schemes of private benevolence, and works of publick utility. Punctual himself to every engagement, he exacted from others a strict fulfilment of contracts, but to the necessitous he was diffusive in his charities, and he greatly assisted the poorer classes of people in his vicinity, by furnishing them with means successfully to prosecute plans of industry.

In domestick and private life, he blended the autho-

* On York Island, in 1776.—See Vol. I. page 87

rity of the master with the care and kindness of the guardian and friend. Solicitous for the welfare of his slaves, while at mount Vernon, he every morning rode round his estates to examine their condition; for the sick, physicians were provided, and to the weak and infirm every necessary comfort was administered. The servitude of the negroes lay with weight upon his mind; he often made it the subject of conversation, and resolved several plans for their general emancipation; but could devise none, which promised success, in consistency with humanity to them, and safety to the state.

The address presented to him at Alexandria, on the commencement of his presidency, fully shows how much he was endeared to his neighbours, and the affection and esteem, in which his friends held his private character.

His industry was unremitted, and his method so exact, that all the complicated business of his military command, and civil administration, was managed without confusion, and without hurry.

Not feeling the lust of power, and ambitious only for honourable fame, he devoted himself to his country upon the most disinterested principles; and his actions were not the semblance but the reality of virtue: the purity of his motives was accredited, and absolute confidence placed in his patriotism.

While filling a publick station, the performance of his duty took the place of pleasure, emolument, and every private consideration. During the more critical years of the war, a smile was scarcely seen upon his countenance, he gave himself no moments of relaxation; but his whole mind was engrossed to execute successfully his trust.

As a military commander, he struggled with innumerable embarrassments, arising from the short enlistment of his men, and from the want of provisions.

clothing, arms, and ammunition; and an opinion of his achievements should be formed in view of these inadequate means.

The first years of his civil administration were attended with the extraordinary fact, that while a great proportion of his countrymen did not approve his measures, they universally venerated his character, and relied implicitly on his integrity. Although his opponents eventually deemed it expedient to vilify his character, that they might diminish his political influence; yet the moment that he retired from publick life, they returned to their expressions of veneration and esteem; and after his death, used every endeavour to secure to their party the influence of his name.

He was as eminent for piety as for patriotism. His publick and private conduct evince, that he impressively felt a sense of the superintendence of God and of the dependence of man. In his addresses, while at the head of the army, and of the national government, he gratefully noticed the signal blessings of Providence, and fervently commended his country to divine benediction. In private, he was known to have been habitually devout.

In principle and practice he was a *Christian*. The support of an Episcopal church, in the vicinity of Mount Vernon, rested principally upon him, and here, when on his estate, he with constancy attended publick worship. In his address to the American people, at the close of the war, mentioning the favourable period of the world at which the independence of his country was established, and enumerating the causes which unitedly had ameliorated the condition of human society, he, above science, philosophy, commerce, and all other considerations, ranked "*the pure and benign light of Revelation.*" Supplicating Heaven that his fellow citizens might cultivate the disposition, and practise the virtues, which exalt a community, he presented the following petition to his God. That he

would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility and pacifick temper of mind, which were the characteristicks of the *Divine Author of our blessed religion;* without a humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation."

During the war, he not unfrequently rode ten or twelve miles from camp to attend publick worship; and he never omitted this attendance, when opportunity presented.

In the establishment of his presidential household, he reserved to himself the Sabbath, free from the interruptions of private visits, or publick business; and throughout the eight years of his civil administration, he gave to the institutions of christianity the influence of his example.

He was as fortunate as great and good.

Under his auspices, a civil war was conducted with mildness, and a revolution with order. Raised himself above the influence of popular passions, he happily directed these passions to the most useful purposes. Uniting the talents of the soldier with the qualifications of the statesman, and pursuing, unmoved by difficulties, the noblest end by the purest means, he had the supreme satisfaction of beholding the complete success of his great military and civil services, in the independence and happiness of his country

END OF VOLUME II.

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